University of Alberta

The Early Music Movement in the Netherlands: History, Pedagogy and Ethnography

by

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To my parents, Janet and Arthur,
without whose support this project would never have been completed

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a study of the historical performance movement in the Netherlands, examining how this tiny country became so prominent in the global Early Music community. The approach combines historical research with ethnography, and builds upon fieldwork conducted in the Netherlands among students, faculty and administrators at the Early Music Department of a major Dutch conservatory. The Department acts as a nexus of activity within the Early Music movement, wherein can be observed the interactions between established musicians, young professionals, and students. Of central importance is the relationship of students and teachers with composers, musical works, and historical treatises. To situate this institution within a broader historical and socioeconomic framework, I have connected the growth in the Early Music movement to the Dutch Bach revival at the beginning of the twentieth century, the development of the social welfare state, and Dutch policies towards the subsidization of the arts and arts education. Also examined in this regard is Early Music's close relationship with other musical genres, especially the Classical music mainstream, jazz and contemporary music. The economic efficiency, commercial success and international reputation of Dutch Early Music ensembles have had a transformative effect on the Netherlands' musical life.

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CONTENTS

Chapter

1. INTRODUCTION: EARLY MUSIC AND THE NEXUS OF ETHNOGRAPHY, HISTORY AND PERFORMANCE........................1

    Prologue

    Defining Early Music

    The Dutch Early Music Community

    Ethnographic Approaches to Early Music

    Bi-musicality and Other Methodological Concerns

    The Conservatorium van Amsterdam's Early Music Department

    Towards a Cultural History of Early Music in the Netherlands

    Some Final Notes: On Language and Transcriptions

2. TOWARDS AN ANALYSIS OF EARLY MUSIC PEDAGOGY............30

    Prologue: Reading the Ritual of the Exam

    Theoretical Approaches to Music Pedagogy

    The Conservatorium, the Early Music Field, and Forms of Capital

3. THE CONSERVATORY EARLY MUSIC DEPARTMENT: DEMOGRAPHICS, CURRICULUM AND SCOPE...........................51

    Introduction

    The Conservatorium van Amsterdam and the Dutch Education System: An Overview

Defining the Early Music Department, Part I: Its Size, Scope and Repertoire

Defining the Early Music Department, Part II: Early Music "Hardware"

4. THE PEDAGOGICAL APPROACHES OF THE EARLY MUSIC DEPARTMENT........104

Entering the Early Music Department: The Gateway to the Field

Coursework and Projects

Modes of Instruction

The Voorspeelavond

The Tentamen

Post-Conservatorium Life

Epilogue

5. THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE EARLY MUSIC MOVEMENT IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1900-1980........170

Introduction: The Dutch Passion for Bach and the Baroque

The Netherlands and the Global Early Music Movement, 1900-1940

Early Music Performance Under the Occupation, 1940-1945

Musical Life in the Post-War Era, 1945-1980: Renewal and Growth
  The Origins of the Welfare State and the Design of a National Arts Policy, 1945-1960
  The Holland Festival
  Prins Bernhard Fonds

Expansion of the Welfare State and Music Funding, 1960-1980
  Social Upheaval in the 1960s and 1970s: Early Music and the Dutch Counterculture

Early Music and the Growth of Chamber Music Ensembles in the 1960s and 70s

Early Music Education: from *Huismuziek* to Professional Education in the Conservatories

Conclusions

6. BETWEEN CULTURE MINISTRY AND CULTURE INDUSTRY: EARLY MUSIC IN THE NETHERLANDS 1980-2005...................... 230

Introduction

The 1980s: Cultural Policy and Cutbacks under Lubbers
  Early Music Ensembles of the 1980s: Historicism on a Budget
  The Recording Industry: Major Labels Enter the Picture
  Some Conclusions

The Early 1990s: Further Restructuring of the Culture Sector
  Effects on Early Music Ensembles

The Mid 1990s: Cultural Heritage and Education in a Multicultural Context
  The Early Music Movement: Growth and Expansion

The Late 1990s: *Nieuwe Zakelijkheid*
  Early Musicians as "Cultural Entrepreneurs" in a Competitive Marketplace

The 2005-2008 Planning Period: Further Cutbacks
  New Networks for the Funding and Distribution of Early Music

Epilogue

7. THE PLACE OF EARLY MUSIC IN THE DUTCH CONSERVATORY SYSTEM..313

Introduction

The Development of the Dutch Music Education System
  Origins
  1918-1940: Government Standardization

1945-1965: The Postwar Reform Period
The *Mammoetwet* and Its Repercussions: Music Education as Social Welfare Policy
Music Education in the 1970s: The Rise of Historical Performance
1976-1982: Cracks in the Foundation
1982-1989: Retrenchment in the Conservatoria
The 1990s: A Profusion of Fusions
Curriculum Reform: From U.M./D.M. to Eerste Fase/Tweede Fase to BA/MA and Beyond
The Changing Demographics of the Dutch Conservatories, 1990-Present

Conclusion

8. CONCLUSION..392

Recapitulation

Early Music and Cultural Policy: Some Larger Implications

Some Final Remarks

9. WORKS CITED..406

10. APPENDIX ONE..434

11. APPENDIX TWO..436

12. APPENDIX THREE..439

13. APPENDIX FOUR (GLOSSARY)..440

TABLES

Table Page

1. National Arts Budget 1946-1980 208
2. National Arts Budget 1975-1995 246
3. Dutch Postsecondary Music Education ca. 1961 333

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure Page

1. *Fanfare* 10, no. 4 (March/April 1987), p.17 258
2. *Gramophone* 66, no. 782 (July 1988), p.165 259
3. *Early Music* XVI, no. 3 (August 1988), p. 435 262
4. *Early Music* XVIII, no. 4 (November 1990), p. 560 263
5. Higher Professional Music Education in the Netherlands 1970-2005 365

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: EARLY MUSIC AND THE NEXUS OF ETHNOGRAPHY, HISTORY AND PERFORMANCE

> Why has a sector of "serious" music culture devoted itself to the recovery of forgotten repertoires, instruments, and practices? It is…more useful to define Early Music as a late twentieth-century ensemble of social practices instead of restricting it to the works which occasion the interest. To be blunt: Early Music signifies first of all people and only secondarily things.
>
> Laurence Dreyfus, "Early Music Defended against Its Devotees"

Prologue

The inspiration for this dissertation project comes directly from my own personal experience. I began the study of the Baroque flute on a whim, after I completed my undergraduate degree in musicology at the University of Pennsylvania. Because I was a serious modern flutist of some ability with a particular interest in music history, the idea of combining performance and academics in one career was particularly appealing. I enjoyed the atmosphere at the Early Music workshops I had attended in Boston and Amherst, Massachusetts. There, my somewhat unconventional performance background (I had attended a university, where I had a broad liberal arts education, and not a conservatory; I had also not started serious study on the flute until I was a young adult) seemed to matter less in this community of musicians at the margins of the Classical music performance world than among modern flutists.

As a graduate student in musicology, I delved more deeply into 18th-century treatises and recent research in performance practice, while spending my summers participating in Early Music workshops. I had become increasingly aware of the academic debates in British and North American scholarship regarding historical performance, the relative merits of period and modern instruments, and the meaning of authenticity in performance (e.g., Dreyfus 1983, Kenyon 1988, Dulak 1993, Taruskin 1995, Kivy 1995, Butt 2002, etc.). I also noticed that many of the faculty members at the American Early Music workshops I had attended, such as the Amherst Early Music Festival and the Longy School of Music's International Baroque Institute, were Dutch or active in the Netherlands.[1] The typical thing, it seemed, for an American student who was seriously interested in historical performance was to study in Europe for a few years, preferably in one of the Dutch conservatories. These institutions, as I soon learned, particularly the Royal Conservatory in The Hague, the Conservatorium van Amsterdam, and the Utrecht Conservatory, had very developed programs in period instrument performance, internationally-recognized faculty, and a thriving community of like-minded young musicians.

The continent, of course, was where so much of the Baroque music I was playing originated. For young Early Musicians, travelling to Europe for further guidance and instruction took on much the same character as a pilgrimage to a sacred site, returning to the music's original "source", or consulting a guru for guidance and inspiration. What I discovered, to my surprise, was that the Early Music scene in the Netherlands was another world in and of itself, and distinct in approach, traditions and atmosphere from the community to which I was accustomed.

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[1] The Baroque Performance Institute at Oberlin also has (or has had) a number of Dutch faculty members.

This dissertation is in many ways the story of what I encountered when I, too, made my pilgrimage to the Netherlands to study the traverso, and to understand how the Early Music scene developed in this country and what sustains it there today. What I found was another approach to the instruction of historical performance to which I was not accustomed: Early Music as a conservatory process. In terms of my background, I had come from an academic approach to music where performance and history were closely linked (usually in one university department). As such, I reacted to the Dutch conservatories as both a performer and an historian, and it became a challenge at times to pull back from these perspectives and assume another, more anthropological, point of view. The resultant ethnographic and historical report I have produced is thus an attempt, of sorts, to come to terms with the culture shock I experienced, and to try to account for some of the differences between the Dutch and the Early Music community in North America. The audience, therefore, is for my own community; it is not intended to be an all-encompassing history of Early Music in the Netherlands, though the more historical chapters aim to explain some of the questions which arose during the course of my study.

Defining Early Music

The historical performance movement has been a remarkable feature of 20th-century musical life and, as such, it has attracted a good deal of attention from musicologists, performers and critics alike. While the movement's reception has ranged from enthusiastic to condemnatory,[2] it has nevertheless become an accepted component of mainstream classical music culture, and as such, there have been several scholarly attempts to document it. A number of scholars, for example, have traced the origins of the movement to the 19th-century J.S. Bach revival, particularly Felix Mendelssohn's performance of the *St. Matthew Passion* in 1829 (Haskell 1996, 9-10), or to the resurgence of interest in Gregorian chant, Baroque choral music, Palestrina, Bach and Rameau in 19th-century France (Ellis 2005). In most cases, however, there was little interest at that time in historical verisimilitude, and the music was unquestioningly "modernized" in order to bring it up to date in accordance with contemporary tastes. By the first decades of the 20th century, this exploration of earlier repertoires took on an *historicizing* approach, through research into early performance techniques and practices, the use of period instruments, and the adoption of Urtext editions. As such, performers and musicologists would thus effectuate an extraordinary, if uneasy, rapprochement.

It is this interest in an historical approach, coupled with an attempt to recreate the context and conditions surrounding the original performance of a work, which have characterized the Early Music movement's objectives in the post-war era. But what, precisely, *is* Early Music? What unifies its practitioners, and how do they distinguish themselves from the musical mainstream? As Laurence Dreyfus (1983, 298-299) and Michelle Dulak (1993, 31) have noted, defining the Early Music community in terms of the repertoire in which its performers specialize is extremely problematic. If "Early Music" had once implied the performance of music composed prior to 1800, or, as Dreyfus put it, "a massive corpus extending from liturgical chant of the Middle Ages through Classical symphonies of the eighteenth century and (at the present writing) casting a covetous glance at the nineteenth century" (1983, 299), this is certainly no longer applicable at the "present writing" of this author. Period instrument performances of Berlioz, Brahms, Tchaikovsky, Wagner, Verdi and even Debussy have been recorded to date by various ensembles, although, it is fair to say, late 19th-century (or early 20th-century) performance practice has not become a leading or dominant component of the movement.[3] As such, I use the capitalized term "Early Music" here, as Dreyfus does, to distinguish the historical performance community from "early music" in the sense of musical repertory, though certainly other terms, such as "historically-informed" (a.k.a. "HIP"), "historically accurate", "historically aware", "period instrument performance" or of course, the highly problematized "authentic performance" have been used to label the same musicians and the same phenomenon in recent years.[4] While Dulak uses most of these terms "more or less interchangeably" (in perhaps a self-consciously postmodern fashion), and John Butt uses HIP fairly consistently, I have chosen to use the somewhat imperfect "Early Music" in my account because of its similarity to the term *oude muziek* used by the Dutch, who will be the principal focus of my study.

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[2] Perhaps most famously by Adorno (1967) but more recently by Penin (2000).

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[3] See Dulak 1993, 45-47 for a summary.

[4] See Taruskin 1995, 92-96 for a summary of the thorniness of the Early Music nomenclature problem. Another perspective, compiled for the general music listening public, can be found on the "What is Early Music" section of the Early Music FAQ, compiled and edited by Todd Michel McComb. http://www.medieval.org/emfaq/misc/whatis.htm (accessed 21 February 2006).

If Early Musicians, then, tend to visibly distinguish themselves from other classical musicians through the adoption of period instruments, even these "visible tools of the trade", as Dreyfus put it, are not always an identifying characteristic. While this remains *mostly* true, Dulak is correct to point out the phenomenon of "double careers", particularly among a younger generation of string players who perform on both modern and "authentistic" instruments (1993, 48-49). Of course, singers are also equally difficult to pigeonhole, particularly since many (most?) of them do not perform exclusively with period instrument ensembles. The tendency of some Early Music ensembles to crossover with contemporary or "world" musics further complicates the repertoire and instrument issue.[5]

What, then, remains of Early Music's identity in the early 21st century? A different philosophy of music-making, perhaps? This viewpoint might once have been described as a search for historical verisimilitude, or as an "authentic" approach to music-making, but the use of these terms in the context of performing has been thoroughly and exhaustively debunked, most powerfully by Richard Taruskin (1995). Indeed, both Dreyfus and Taruskin, two of the movement's own prominent scholar-performers, have attacked the Early Music movement's pedantic reliance on empirical research to justify musical decision-making, critiqued the use of the term

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[5] See, for example, the eclectic activities of the ensemble The Voice of the Turtle, as described by Shelemay (2001, 19-21).

"authentic performance" as a vapid marketing label, and questioned the movement's expressed aim to "re-creat[e]…a performance as close as possible to the composer's original conception" (Lawson and Stowell 1999, xii).[6] By the mid-1990s, as Dulak observed, "little by little the historical-performance community ha[d] absorbed the critique, quietly and gradually abandoning the pursuit of historical certitude for the more equivocal goal of transhistorical communication" (1993, 36).[7] In part, she suggests, this goal, coupled with an exploration of new expressive devices, might represent a more postmodern approach to Early Music performance (60-61). Likewise, John Butt, in his comprehensive attempt to theorize about the Early Music movement's impact on contemporary culture, has argued that historical performers have been embracing a more pluralistic vision of the past which resonates with many tenets of postmodernism (2002, 162-64; 215). However, this more dialogic and pluralistic approach to musical performance is not an exclusive domain of the Early Music movement and, as such, cannot be said to set it apart.[8]

Still, for all the difficulties involved in defining what Early Music is (or, perhaps more to the point, what it is *not*), the term and the movement itself continue to have a certain resonance among its practitioners. The sense of community among them is tangible, regardless of whether or not it is a social construction.[9] Moreover, Early Music has both a material presence, through its commercial recordings, instruments, books and facsimile editions, and an institutional presence, with its myriad of ensembles, festivals, workshops, *collegium musicum*, and conservatory departments. As Taruskin noted in 1995, however, "the institutional history of Early Music…has as yet been only investigated informally" (Taruskin 1995, 196). Here, Taruskin is considering the possibility that the historical performance movement might function as an "invented tradition",[10] an idea with which John Butt also grapples, and seems, at first, to support.[11] In his concluding chapter, however, Butt remarks that while there is much of value in Hobsbawm's work, "the notion that 'invented traditions' are somehow inferior to continuous ones" sometimes surfaces in his writing, and that he "seems to be making a dangerous and romantic distinction" between "genuine" and "invented" traditions (Butt 2002, 201-2). Indeed, I concur with Butt's assertion that "there is surely no clear-cut practical distinction between the two," particularly considering that in the modern context of globalization, it is rare for a tradition to be truly isolated from outside influences and not to undergo continuous modification or "reinvention", as Butt terms it.[12]

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[6] See also the essays in Kenyon 1988 and Kivy 1995 for more on this critique.

[7] One is reminded here of Gary Tomlinson's advocacy of a "*dialogical* conception of the ethnographic encounter" (emphasis in original) as a model for the reading of historical texts in his introduction to *Music in Renaissance Magic* (1993, 6).

[8] Even the Early Music Department where I studied took a decidedly equivocal approach to the issue of defining historical performance. As the Departmental brochure put it, "In keeping with international trends, we define *Early Music studies* as *making music with an understanding of history*" (Conservatorium van Amsterdam 2003, 4). See also the discussion of this issue in Chapter Two.

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[9] I am thinking here of Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" which, though this concept is generally applied in the context of nationalism, nevertheless has some resonance here (see Anderson 1991).

[10] See Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992.

[11] As he notes, "If we examine HIP as part of a wider phenomenon we may begin to understand how it is a much more complex process in which the buying public is deeply implicated, responding both to the benefits and to the traumatic disorientation engendered by modernisation and modernist culture. As Eric Hobsbwawm aptly puts it in regard to invented traditions in general: 'conscious invention succeeded mainly in proportion to its success in broadcasting on a wavelength to which the public was ready to tune in'" (Butt 2002, 167). The source of the quotation from Hobsbawm is his essay "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914" (Hobsbawm 1992b, 263). In Butt's work, see also p. 192, where he compares the modernizing restoration of Victorian houses with the "restoration" of musical works, suggesting both are a type of invented tradition.

In any case, the role of institutions in developing and maintaining traditions—"invented" or otherwise—presents an intriguing possibility for an ethnographic study of these processes. It is for this reason that I have chosen to use just such an institution to frame Early Music for the purposes of my project: the Early Music department of a major Dutch conservatory. However, as my research would reveal, even the boundaries of the Department itself are surprisingly flexible and porous. By using the Department as the locus of activity in the Dutch Early Music community, I employ it as a case study to examine the kind of music-making which takes place within its confines, the interaction of different generations and factions among its members, and the nature of the social and economic relationships among its practitioners.

The Dutch Early Music Community

The choice of the Netherlands as the site of my research may seem surprising to Early Music "outsiders." While this country has supported internationally-recognized orchestras (such as the Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra) and thriving jazz and contemporary music scenes, it is nevertheless a rather small, if densely populated country. Among historical performers, however, the Netherlands is hardly marginal:

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[12] As Butt remarks, "*any* tradition, if it is to be successful, at least in the western world, has to reinvent itself on a regular basis if it is to survive at all" (2002, 202).

since the 1960s, it has been known as an important centre for Early Music activities. As Bernard Sherman succinctly put it, "The Netherlands became to Baroque performance what Switzerland is to chocolate, watches, and banks" (1997, 193). Indeed, even some of the sharpest critics of the historical performance movement, such as Kerman (1985), McClary (1987, 61) and Taruskin (1995, 148), have been careful to point out a number of performers as important exceptions to their more doctrinaire or dilettantish counterparts: these include Gustav Leonhardt, Frans Brüggen, the Kuijken brothers, and Anner Bylsma, all active primarily in the Netherlands. Indeed, some commentators have referred to a particular "Dutch Baroque" style of performance, characterized by its professionalism, its rejection of a "sewing machine" approach to the performance of high Baroque repertoire, its emphasis on expressing metrical hierarchy, its imitation of speech-like patterns, and the frequent use of inflections and swelling on long notes (Sherman 1997, 171-2; 193). Some have gone so far as to label this "Dutch school" of Early Music performance as "radical in some of its manifestations" (Brown 1988, 50), as a kind of "advanced guard" at the forefront of the movement (Dreyfus 1983), or even an *avant-garde* (Nuchelmans 1995). The implication here is that these leading practitioners of the Dutch Early Music school revolt against the conventions of the Classical music mainstream—but also very likely against the straightforward, brisk and sometimes foursquare interpretations of their period-instrument competitors in England.[13]

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[13] This is not to say that Dutch Early Musicians did not face competition from elsewhere (e.g., Germany, France and America), but rather that it became a commonplace for North American music critics to juxtapose Dutch and English performances in recording reviews.

Many of the performers from the Dutch school (or, more accurately, the Low Countries school) have also been very active as pedagogues. In the mid-1970s, for example, Marie Leonhardt (1976) documented the thriving Early Music Department at the Royal Conservatory in The Hague and the international nature of its student body. Her husband Gustav had likewise set up an important harpsichord studio at the Sweelinck Conservatorium in Amsterdam. The Dutch, by this period, were at the vanguard of Early Music performance and education alike, and helped to raise the standards of period-instrument playing. The lively concert scene in the Netherlands, particularly with the establishment of such internationally-recognized Dutch professional ensembles as the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra and the Orchestra of the 18th Century, made the Dutch conservatories more of a draw for students than the relatively isolated Schola Cantorum in Basel. By the late 1990s, when I began playing the traverso myself, I met a number of Dutch faculty members in summer workshops. This made it seem like a promising place to study, and the connections I established with the instructors and students at these workshops would prove invaluable.

Surprisingly, despite its importance, the Dutch Early Music scene has not been systematically documented or studied. The work of Van der Klis (1991, 2001) focuses mainly on the earliest stages of the historical performance movement, primarily through the medium of oral history. Other existing accounts of the historical performance movement touch upon activities in the Netherlands, but again, they tend to focus mainly on only the most prominent performers, conductors and ensembles (Brown 1988, Cohen and Snitzer 1985, Sherman 1997, Haskell 1996 and 2001).[14] A broader and in-depth study seemed necessary to place the contributions of these individuals into a larger historical context.

Ethnographic Approaches to Early Music

My examination of the Dutch Early Music movement forms part of a growing number of ethnographies of western, industrialized societies, which, since the 1960s, have become increasingly common in cultural anthropology. In part, this is an outgrowth of the "experimental moment" in the discipline prompted by the 1980s critique of ethnographic authority and representation.[15] If the purpose of writing ethnography was cultural critique, then surely anthropologists ought, in all fairness, to turn this critical eye upon their own cultures. Such thinking also informs recent ethnomusicological approaches to western societies, such as Kingsbury (1988) Finnegan (1989), Nettl (1995) and Born (1995). Because I am myself not Dutch, however, I am not engaging here in endo-ethnography; on the other hand, there was still the sense that I was studying an aspect of my own historical performance community.

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[14] Most recently, John Butt (1999), Martin Elste (2000) and Dorottya Fabian (2003) have used the study of recordings to evaluate changing trends in Bach performance practice and, by extension, in the Early Music movement as a whole. Their accounts also include several performances by Dutch ensembles and musicians.

[15] See, for example, Clifford and Marcus 1986, and Marcus and Fischer 1986, specifically Chapter Five, "The Repatriation of Anthropology as Cultural Critique" and especially pp. 112-113.

There has as yet been little ethnographic work on the Early Music movement in general, though Shelemay (2001) is an exploratory attempt in this regard.[16] Indeed, her article is primarily focused on the importance of studying living musical traditions for musicologists, rather than on the locus of her field work itself, the Boston Early Music scene. There is, however, an interesting parallel between the disciplinary goals of historical performance and those of ethnomusicology. As Dulak put it,

> We are accustomed to seeing the terms 'historical performance' and 'early music' used almost synonymously, but in fact the idea of historical performance has no natural borders; its ultimate tendency is to claim the whole repertory as its dominion, much as 'ethnomusicology' in principle claims all musical activity as its subject. (Dulak 1993, 42)

Thus, if an historical approach to performance and research into music's cultural context and performance practices were applicable to *all* repertoires, so too should an ethnographic approach be applicable to *all* music, regardless of the geographic area or cultural group to which it belongs. Still, while there have been a number of calls for a more anthropologically- or ethnomusicologically-informed musicology, there nevertheless remains a schism between the two disciplines.[17] An ethnomusicological approach to the historical performance movement could be an important means of transcending this divide.

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[16] Ethnomusicology has, however, informed performance practice research. See, for example, Jeffery 1992.

[17] In this regard, see Tomlinson 1984, Stock 1998, Qureshi 1995, Shelemay 2001.

The Conservatorium van Amsterdam's Early Music Department

In terms of a fieldwork site, I chose to focus on a Dutch Early Music program in a major conservatory, the Conservatorium van Amsterdam (formerly known as the Sweelinck Conservatorium). While readers more familiar with the Early Music Department in The Hague might find this a surprising choice, there were several reasons why this institution was interesting to me. First of all, the historical performance program in Amsterdam actually has a longer history than the department in The Hague; it can be traced back to 1928, when the harpsichord was first included in the curriculum. Gustav Leonhardt's period of tenure on the faculty (1954-1988), and his successor Bob van Asperen, had also leant the program a certain prestige which attracted many students and teachers. While the program in The Hague was larger and broader and scope, Amsterdam had effectively set itself up as oppositional to the Royal Conservatory, and the differences between the two institutional approaches was intriguing. As I later discovered, Amsterdam and The Hague were but two conservatories out of an entire network of music schools, most of which had offered their own Early Music programs during the "heyday" of the mid-1980s through the mid-1990s. In this regard, the Conservatorium van Amsterdam is probably more typical of some of these "satellite" Early Music programs. Having noted all of the above, it is also important to acknowledge that the Department in Amsterdam does not "universally" reflect *the* method of Early Music instruction in the Netherlands; I have tried to point out in the text how other programs (particularly The Hague) differ from my own institution.

The Conservatorium's position within the city of Amsterdam itself also played a role in my study. Amsterdam has a particular social history which is quite distinct from The Hague: while the former city has been a site of anti-authoritarian uprisings, a centre of left-wing politics[18] and was closely linked with the 1960s countercultural movement, the latter city has an entirely different atmosphere given its position as the seat of government and the international courts. Given this liberal political and cultural atmosphere, Amsterdam also has a reputation for being a centre of creativity, playfulness and experimentation, and has attracted numerous artists and musicians from the other Dutch provinces and indeed, from around the world.

The city of Amsterdam also has a remarkably diverse and multicultural demographic compared to the northern and eastern regions of the Netherlands.[19] One third of Amsterdam's population is made up of *allochtonen*, or non-native Dutch. Among the largest ethnic minorities are immigrants from Suriname (including Afro-Caribbeans and East Indians), the Netherlands Antilles, Turkey, Morocco and southern Europe (Mollenkopf 2000, 198). This remarkable mixture of old and new, and immigrants and native Dutch, are an important part of the backdrop to historical performance in the Netherlands.

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[18] The historian James C. Kennedy notes that "more than other Dutch cities, Amsterdam was largely unchurched and solidly red; the socialist PvdA dominated city government, and the communists (CPN) retained a strong presence, getting up to 40% of the vote in some old Amsterdam neighbourhoods during the mid-1960s" (1995, 239).

[19] The Hague and Rotterdam, especially, are also highly multicultural cities.

The Conservatorium van Amsterdam, too, is also highly international—especially the Early Music Department, which is made up of some 85% of foreigners (see Chapter 7, p. 385). Many members of the faculty, too, also come from abroad, though the older, "pioneer" generation of instructors is mostly Dutch. In the Early Music Department, then, Dutch students of historical performance are thus effectively a minority in their own institution. The result is that while the conservatory system itself is "culturally Dutch" in terms of its overall approach to instruction, and its openness to and tolerance of foreigners, it is also not particularly "Dutch" in terms of its demographics. At the same time, the population within the Department, which is mostly made up of Europeans, North Americans and Australians, does not correspond with the same mix of people outside the conservatory. There is thus a certain isolation of the Early Music Department from the rest of Amsterdam's society; it is its own sphere of creative activity.

Bi-musicality and Other Methodological Concerns

Within the context of the Conservatorium van Amsterdam, my own position as a student and participant-observer took on a particular form. As a methodological framework, I chose to engage in a musical apprenticeship, of sorts. I enrolled as a traverso (Baroque flute) student in the Early Music Department at the Conservatorium van Amsterdam, where I completed my postgraduate and Second

Phase diplomas (roughly equivalent to a Masters in Music degree). I had already met my teacher, Jed Wentz, at the Longy International Baroque Institute prior to arriving at the Conservatorium. As an American who has been living and working in the Netherlands for more than twenty years, he is effectively bilingual and bicultural: he was invaluable not only as a flute instructor, but also served as my cultural translator, and in introducing me to a number of important contacts. Given the number of foreigners on the Conservatorium's faculty, studying with a "non-native" Dutch person was not at all unusual. Our shared cultural background probably meant that we had a somewhat atypical and less hierarchical student-teacher relationship, however.

The use of a period of music study in the field as a research method has become a veritable commonplace in ethnomusicology. Highly influential in this regard was Mantle Hood, who first articulated the concept of "bi-musicality" in 1960.[20] Hood postulated that music researchers could become fluent in the practices and techniques of two (or more) musical cultures, in the same way that many people become bilingual (Hood 1960).[21] Although the concept has undergone little critical scrutiny, it nevertheless retains a powerful influence on ethnomusicological fieldwork practice.

For many reasons, the bi-musicality approach seemed ideally suited for my study. Firstly, like ethnomusicologists studying Javanese gamelan (such as Mantle

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[20] Coincidentally, Mantle Hood also has a connection to the Netherlands, in that he was a student of ethnomusicologist Jaap Kunst at the University of Amsterdam.

[21] If textbooks are an indication of the concept's popularity, then Helen Meyers's discussion of bi-musicality in her popular book *Ethnomusicology: An introduction* serves as a ringing endorsement of it (Meyers 1992, 31).

Hood himself) or classical Indian music, I had likewise chosen to conduct research in a field where a highly-structured, "high art" system of teacher-student discipleship was already conveniently in place. Unlike Timothy Rice, for example, who undertook a period of bagpipe study in Bulgaria, I did not have any difficulties in locating a teacher in the field, and a highly experienced one at that.[22] Moreover, I already had some technical ability on my instrument, which meant that, unlike an ethnographer studying a musical tradition entirely outside his or her realm of indigenous experience, I had a head start in terms of musical skill acquisition.

Additionally, my ethnographic writing here is targeted to "cultural insiders" familiar to Baroque and Classical music, meaning that I do not have to explain or transcribe "the music itself" for the reader. On the other hand, the very familiarity of the performance repertoire (18th-century European music) and the instruction methodology meant that I sometimes had to work harder to distance myself mentally from it in order to think analytically and critically about it. This places me in a position vis-à-vis the old "etic-emic" debate that is difficult to categorize. I am at once an outsider to Dutch language and culture, yet an insider to western Classical music and the Early Music movement, and, in most respects, to the student culture of the conservatory.

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[22] As Rice put it, "I later learned he [Kostadin, his teacher] was one of the few village musicians who took the idea of teaching seriously. Most had taught themselves to play, had no idea how to teach, and therefore had no interest in it" (Rice 1994, 35). Further, he notes, "Only much later did I realize that most of these musicians, like Kostadin, had never taken a music lesson themselves and had no idea how to give one. They could perhaps have corrected my playing if I already played something, but they had no idea how to teach me to play 'from scratch'" (Rice 1994, 65).

Secondly, the concept of bi-musicality was appealing in that it has particular resonance for historical performers. Like a western ethnomusicologist studying a non-western instrument, a "modern" flutist, too, effectively becomes bi-musical by studying the traverso, an instrument which is likewise estranged from her native culture. A contemporary performer exploring an historical instrument thus, metaphorically, represents a similar encounter with the Other—though in this case, the Other is separated from the Self by temporal, not geographical, barriers.[23]

Thirdly, for many ethnomusicologists, a period of musical study in the field is enormously helpful in elucidating the role of education in the process of the transmission of tradition; this has also been my own experience. Benjamin Brinner, for example, observed that:

> The most direct access to a different way of thinking and making music, one based on different assumptions and expectations about human action and sensation, is gained by making an intense, long-term effort to absorb those ways of music from within, attempting to get inside other peoples' heads and fingers. The failures and obstacles encountered in the course of this endeavor are often as enlightening as the successes, provided one is able to step aside and observe oneself and others, analyzing the problems that arise from clashing assumptions, perceptions, demands, and capabilities, few of which are made explicit. (Brinner 1995, 8)

As such, this process of attempting to get "inside other peoples' heads and fingers" has given Brinner occasion to ponder the processes of music learning, such as implicit and explicit ways of acquiring musical competence, how music learning is a part of acculturation in general, and the manner by which musicians interact with each other in performance.[24] In my case, studying in the Conservatorium allowed me to view (and experience first-hand) not only how Early Musicians acquire musical skills and historical knowledge, but also how they are enculturated into the field and how they make the transition from students to professional performers. It also enabled me to consider the social organization of Early Musicians, particularly the nature of the student-teacher relationship, and the interaction between different generational, cultural and aesthetic groups within the institution.[25]

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[23] Again, this has some parallels to the argument of Gary Tomlinson. See note 7 above.

At the same time, studying traverso was more of a means to an end for this project: it got me directly involved in the Dutch Early Music scene, and provided a more detailed view than I could possibly have obtained by observation or working with written sources alone. However, unlike many ethnographies invoking bi-musicality, my own personal experiences learning to play my instrument will not form the primary theme or framework of the narrative, though I will refer to it on occasion where it seems relevant.

Consequently, as many ethnomusicologists have experienced, presenting myself as a music student granted me access to a number of key musicians, and it allowed me to establish rapport in the field: it was a familiar frame of reference for other people in the Department, which made me largely inconspicuous.[26] Indeed, as a foreign student in my mid-twenties, I fit in perfectly with my peers, most of whom were of the same age, at the same level of musical competence (I had to pass an entrance audition just like everyone else), and also non-Dutch.[27] On the other hand, my background as a musicologist, my "intellectual capital" as a graduate student, and even my secure financial support from various granting agencies set me apart in important ways. I was, for example, far more broadly read in 18th-century treatises and the performance practice literature than other students (and probably many of the faculty themselves!), and my own teacher referred to me as his most "source-aware" student. For this reason, I mostly tried to keep a low profile regarding my "true" musicological identity, though it was not at all camouflaged, and it naturally did surface at times.[28] Still, even this was not really an anomaly: I was hardly the only student with a musicology or academic background, and some of my colleagues were even jointly enrolled in university programs while studying at the conservatory.

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[24] Rice (1994) and Bakan (1999) also consider musical education to a substantial degree in their ethnographies of Bulgarian bagpipe playing and Balinese gamelan respectively.

[25] On the use of bi-musicality in the field to study the social organization of musicians, see also Qureshi 2000, Kippen (1988), Baily (1988) and, to a certain extent, Kingsbury (1988)—though he did not enrol as a student in the conservatory he studied.

[26] Note, by contrast, the difficulty Henry Kingsbury had in presenting himself at the Eastern Metropolitan Conservatory (1988, 22-4). Because he was considerably older than the average student, and closer in age and position to the teachers and administration, he had some difficulty in gaining acceptance and trust in the field.

In addition to bi-musicality, bi- (or multi-) lingualism also played an important role in my research. I had the advantage of working primarily in English (my native language) in the field, though furthering my Dutch language skills at the

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[27] Like them, I also used a MiniDisc recorder to record interviews, as well as my own performances. This device and its microphone were both unobtrusive and familiar to students and teachers in the interview situation, which I believe helped make it seem less uncomfortable. See Chapter Four, p. 149 for more on this technology.

[28] My "intellectual capital," of sorts, was sometimes called upon by students and teachers in the Conservatorium for a variety of reasons, for example, to assist them with fixing computer problems, conducting music bibliography searches, editing English translations and program notes, and even sitting in on the hiring process for a new harpsichord teacher (my role here was as "student guinea pig," not "harpsichord expert," however). Strangely enough, I was even asked, during some ensemble rehearsals, to solve performance practice disputes because I was the "musicologist"—even in areas, such as the late Renaissance, where I have very little expertise! While I will admit to siccing a treatise on someone once or twice in exasperation to prove a point, I usually managed to keep this urge in check.

Conservatorium proved absolutely invaluable to my research. It enabled me to better communicate with the Dutch people I interviewed, the idioms and expressions I learned provided an important window into Dutch culture and history, and it allowed me to read Dutch-language sources on music and cultural policy which thoroughly enriched my historical account of the Early Music movement in the Netherlands. These Dutch language classes also helped me to meet other foreign students in the Conservatorium and in the Amsterdamse Hogeschool voor de Kunsten, the umbrella institution of arts schools to which the conservatory belongs. At the same time, language skills imposed certain limitations on my study: I was only able to interact with people who were either Dutch, English or French-speaking (my most fluent second language).[29] Moreover, as a non-native Dutch speaker, I often found translating Dutch-language sources, particularly government documents, quite challenging; other aspects of Dutch history and culture required some clarification. I am grateful for the assistance I have had from various people in this regard, including Jed Wentz, Thérèse de Goede-Klinkhamer, Joan Greer and Henry Klumpenhouwer. All errors in the translation however remain my own.

The "ethnographic present" of this account particularly Chapters Two, Three and Four, focuses on my period as a student in the Conservatorium, from 1999-2003. The bulk of my ethnographic work and interviews were conducted during the 2003-2004 academic year, though some of my observations more directly reflect my own experiences as a conservatory student. In many ways, this was a remarkable and exciting time to be involved in the Early Music scene in the Netherlands. In 2000, I witnessed the "Bach year," and all the associated celebrations and performances commemorating the 250th anniversary of Bach's death; as I note in Chapter Two, this event had a particular resonance with the Dutch public. My student years were also a period of transition within the Early Music Department itself, as it changed directors (from Max van Egmond, who retired in 2002, to Jan Nuchelmans, the former director of the Utrecht Early Music Festival). The Dutch conservatories as a whole also began the process of restructuring the diploma system and curriculum from the First Phase/Second Phase program, to the Bachelors/Masters system, bringing it in line with international standards. The Utrecht Early Music festival, too, was undergoing a period of renewal and a change in directorship. A new government administration in 2002 also meant that the federal arts funding scheme would be overhauled, and this proved to have important implications for Dutch Early Music ensembles.

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[29] The Conservatorium requires a certain level of English fluency from its students, but it was not at all uncommon to have communication problems in such an international environment, particularly with speakers of Japanese and Eastern European languages.

It soon became clear to me during the course of my research, however, that the concepts of "ethnographic present" and "research field" as I have described them thus far were very limiting. There were certain questions, for example, that I found difficult to answer through participant-observation or verbal eliciting alone. Why, for example, were all of these international students studying Early Music in the Netherlands, of all places (and why were there so few Dutch students)? How did this thriving historical performance scene get started there in the first place? What role did the Dutch government play in supporting the Conservatorium, and other related musical institutions? What was the relationship between amateur and professional

Early Music performers, and with Early Musicians and the Classical music mainstream? There was also the sense that somehow I needed to situate the position of the Early Music Department not only in the Dutch music scene at large, but also in the global Early Music movement as a whole.

Towards a Cultural History of Early Music in the Netherlands

In an attempt to contextualize my ethnography and to address some of these questions, I turned to a broader historical and cultural analysis. As several recent ethnomusicological monographs have shown, this bilateral anthropological/historical approach allows one to privilege the local, unique experience of individuals within the field coupled with a concern for larger socioeconomic forces and relations.[30] With this idea in mind, I sought to examine the different factors which together work to sustain the Early Music movement in the Netherlands. It was not, as I would discover, primarily historical musicology (which I had expected, given my own background), though the development of a Dutch school of musicological studies would certainly play a role, particularly in the revival of Dutch Baroque and Renaissance music. What I found instead was that a complex network of institutions together support historical performance. These include a deeply-valued Bach performance tradition, particularly for choral singing, which dates back more than a century; an extensive culture sector, which is an important part of the Dutch economy (and which, unlike in the U.S. and Canada, is closely connected to the government); a state-supported music education system which, in the public schools and at the postsecondary level, provides both an audience and professional training for Early Musicians; a group of recording companies, multinational and independent, which help to circulate the Dutch style of Early Music playing around the world; a publicly-funded broadcasting sector which programs a considerable amount of classical music (including live performances); and a highly developed form of music criticism in the newspapers and in specialized music journals, targeted to a musically-educated public. Among the eclectic variety of materials I consulted are federal government reports and statistics on cultural and educational policy, national newspapers[31] and journals on musical life in the Netherlands (especially *Tijdschrift voor Oude Muziek* and *Mens en Melodie*), as well as other written materials and personal interviews.

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[30] See, for example, Waterman 1990 and Averill 1997.

Together, these institutions form the Dutch Early Music "art world", as Howard Becker (1982) terms it.[32] This art world can both *affect* and *be affected by* larger socioeconomic and political concerns. As such the Conservatorium van

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[31] Chief among these are the *Volkskrant* (the "people's newspaper", this was formerly a Catholic newspaper but now one targeting a left-wing and academic audience) and the *NRC Handelsblad.* Both the "academic" papers have the most extensive arts coverage, though the "middle-of the-road" papers like *Het Parool* and *Trouw* also cover classical music to a substantial degree. The other two national papers, *Telegraaf* and *Algemeen Handelsblad* are more popular in terms of audience and tend to have less classical music coverage. The Dutch papers and journals are quite remarkable in that performers, musicologists, critics, composers, and government advisors all play a very important role in Dutch music criticism. As Susanne Janssen (1999) has noted, coverage of the arts in Dutch newspapers increased in the late 1960s and 1970s as the culture sector also grew, though coverage of classical music has declined in recent years, as critics turn to more popular media forms.

[32] As he put it, an art world is "The network of people whose cooperative activity, organized via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produces the kind of art works that art world is noted for" (1982, x).

Amsterdam's Early Music Department is but one node in the web of Early Music culture whose threads extend outwards not only across the Netherlands, where it is linked to centres of activity in The Hague and Utrecht, other genres of music-making, and other institutions (e.g., the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, record companies, and granting agencies), but it is also interconnected, through a flow of people and capital, to other global centres of historical performance, such as Boston, London, Cologne and Tokyo.

I aim, then, to reconcile an historical and an ethnographic approach, tracing the pathways of this complicated web horizontally, while also rooting the Dutch Early Music movement vertically through an analysis of its historical development. Each chapter represents an examination of a different aspect of the Dutch Early Music scene, as related to the centre of the web, the Early Music Department. The first three chapters following the introduction focus on the Conservatorium itself. Chapter Two provides a theoretical outline for my approach, and introduces concepts from Bourdieu's practice theory and his theory of cultural and symbolic capital. Chapter Three explores the Early Music Department's demographics, curriculum and pedagogical system, while Chapter Four examines how the institutional structures shape the kind of music-making which is produced, how scholarship, performance and artistic license interact, and how musical practices are negotiated between administrators, teachers and students in the Department. Finally, I consider how young conservatory graduates begin to establish their careers. The following chapters examine the historical, political and cultural background which accounts for the situation I observed in the conservatory. In Chapter Five, “The History and Development of the Early Music Movement in the Netherlands,” I consider the Bach performance tradition and its impact on the historical performance movement. I also examine the origins and philosophy behind the post-war federal arts financing scheme, an infrastructure which would make the Dutch government one of the most generous supporters of the arts and individual artists, and one which would have important repercussions for Early Musicians. Chapter Six, “Between Culture Ministry and Culture Industry: Early Music in the Netherlands 1980-2005,” continues where the preceding chapter leaves off. The early 1980s make a logical splitting point, as the federal government made a dramatic change in its approach to cultural funding at this time. It was also a period marked by the increasing professionalization of Dutch Early Music ensembles in light of developments in the recording industry and changing federal policies on arts funding. Chapter Seven, “The Place of Early Music in the Dutch Conservatory System,” traces the history of the music education system in the Netherlands, and the role historical performance has played within it. I argue that the increasing prominence of Early Music and historical instruments in public schools, music schools and conservatories corresponded with the government’s new post-war educational philosophies of “democratization” and “participation” in the arts. Finally, in Chapter Eight, I end with some concluding remarks.

Some Final Notes: On Language, Transcriptions and Identity

This project has naturally required the use of a number of Dutch-language sources. In most cases, the translations are my own, unless otherwise noted. Ministry of Education, Culture and Science documents printed after 1999, for example, are usually produced in English and Dutch; in this case, I have cited these official English versions. For the sake of clarity and convenience, commonly-used Dutch terms and acronyms are listed in the glossary (Appendix Four). Names in the Works Cited list are alphabetized according to Dutch convention, by family name followed by the particle (one notable exception to this rule is Jan Van den Bossche, whose spelling and alphabetization follow Flemish convention).

When transcribing interviews, I have tried as much as possible to closely reflect the speaker's voice. I have retained most grammatical errors as-is (which were not uncommon, given that most interviewees were non-native English speakers) and have retained Dutch language terms, in an attempt to reflect the sense of the interview as a "messy" conversation and to preserve the speaker's unique personality. This process poses a dilemma for the ethnographer not unlike that 18th-century musicians must have faced when writing a treatise on performance practice, and trying to describe sounds and musical ideas in the abstract. How does one put into writing the sound effects, grumbles, pauses and inflections which give meaning and nuance to the spoken word? Particularly illustrative in this regard was the singer Claron McFadden's description of Michael Jackson's singing and grunting in a performance, and the difficulties this might present to someone reading a description of his music hundreds of years later (Chapter Five, p. 270). As she put it, "How do you know if you've really got it right if you have no frame—*aural* frame of reference?" In an attempt to "get it right," I have tried to convey as much as possible these effects in the dialogue.

Naturally, this kind of project presents many challenges in an attempt to represent as fairly and respectfully as possible the different opinions and perspectives of my research collaborators. The Conservatorium students with whom I spoke (and sometimes their instruments and country of origin) have been camouflaged in order to protect their identity. Above all, I have striven to represent the dynamic and diversity of personal experiences within the Early Music Department. As such, I have decided to handle my own participant observation experience in a way that worked best for the purposes of this dissertation, and for the most part, I have deliberately chosen not to involve myself intrinsically within the narrative. This is not to ignore the valid critiques of the "hidden ethnographer" and calls for greater reflexivity in ethnographic writing; I will "emerge" on occasion to share my direct experiences or to comment where it seems appropriate. Above all, I have tried to find a balance between my own voice and those of the members of the Dutch Early music community, who remain, after all, the principal concern of this study.

CHAPTER TWO

TOWARDS AN ANALYSIS OF EARLY MUSIC PEDAGOGY

Doe maar gewoon, dan doe je al gek genoeg.
Act normal—that's crazy enough!

Dutch saying

Prologue: Reading the Ritual of the Exam

One June during the course of my studies,[1] I attended the final exam of James, a Baroque oboe student completing his Second Phase studies at the Conservatorium van Amsterdam.[2] The oboe exams were being held that evening in the Bachzaal, the CvA's formal recital hall, which made them something more of an event. Most of the Early Music department's exams and juries were held in Room 001 (the Willem Andriessenzaal[3]) at the Van Baerlestraat location, a hall which, while it houses the conservatory's most expensive harpsichords, is hot and stuffy in warm weather, with rather dry acoustics and no podium. The Bachzaal, located in the Amsterdamsch Conservatorium's old building in the Bachstraat, is in the centre of Amsterdam's prestigious Oud Zuid neighbourhood, in a district where many of the streets are named after famous composers. It is a short bicycle or tram ride away from the CvA (see Chapter Seven, p. 329). With its excellent acoustics, theatre-styled seats and lighting, greenroom, reception area and bar, the atmosphere of the Bachzaal feels much more like a "real" recital hall than an exam room. As such, it was much sought after by graduating students, and was solidly booked for months in advance.

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[1] Dates, names and in some cases instruments have been altered or generalized to protect the identity of the persons involved. Although the pseudonyms I have employed are common Anglo-Saxon names, the reader should note that the students to whom I refer represent a cross-section of the Early Music population: they are mostly non-Dutch, and from a variety of backgrounds.

[2] The Second Phase was the highest diploma a conservatory student could be awarded at that time. This two-year program was usually preceded by a four-year First Phase, the basic undergraduate course of study.

[3] The majority of the CvA's concert halls are named after famous Dutch musicians, such as Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, Jan Odé (a pianist and former director of the Amsterdamsch Conservatorium) and Everard van Royen (a flutist and former director of the Amsterdam Muzieklyceum). Willem Andriessen (1887-1964), like his nephew Louis Andriessen, was a composer. The Bachzaal, and the Bachstraat, are of course named after Johann Sebastian Bach.

The student's exam, in and of itself, was well-received, if not especially remarkable. James was a well-prepared and polished player, and had made few technical errors. The hour-long program included the standard selection of music from contrasting styles I had come to expect from an Early Music department final exam: an early 18th-century French suite, a Bach aria for soprano with an oboe obbligato, a solo concerto with strings, and a concluding short but virtuosic work for Classical oboe with fortepiano. As one of two senior graduating members of the Baroque oboe class, and one who was already finding both professional work and other indicators of success (such as membership in the European Union Baroque Orchestra[4]), his exam was well-attended. The audience was comprised of his classmates, and many of his colleagues from the Early Music department and the EUBO. Unlike the *overhang* exams for continuing students, which were held behind closed doors, final exams were publicly attended events, and were typically advertised in the CvA's monthly calendar.[5]

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[4] The EUBO, established in 1985, is a period-instrument orchestra for conservatory students and recent graduates which conducts several project-based tours every year. It is funded by the European Parliament and supported by private corporations, such as Microsoft and (until recently) Matsushita. Competitive auditions for orchestra positions are held each April. See http://www.eubo.org.uk/ (Accessed July 5, 2005).

When the recital ended, most of the audience members filed out of the hall into the reception area; many stood around chatting, or drinking soft drinks, wine and beer purchased from the bar. This event might have been mistaken for any ordinary concert or student gathering, but that it followed an exam: the atmosphere was social, but also tense with expectation. After some twenty to thirty minutes, a large Asian gong was struck, and conversation ceased immediately. This indicated that the commission had finished deliberating. The crowd formed a semi-circle, and all heads turned to the hallway as Max van Egmond,[6] then-director of the Early Music department, emerged from the green room.

Van Egmond began to address the audience. As the chair of the examination commission, which also included such instructors as Alfredo Bernardini (Baroque oboe), Donna Agrell (Baroque bassoon), and Lucy van Dael (Baroque violin), he acted as spokesperson and presented a summary of the committee's remarks. Most of his comments were highly favourable, though he noted that James seemed to be less comfortable on the Classical than on the Baroque oboe (he had flubbed a couple of notes in one passage). In particular, Van Egmond praised his judicious taste, confident stage presence and musicality, and in this regard, he said that James's playing epitomized an old Dutch saying: "*Doe maar gewoon, dan doe je al gek genoeg*." He then announced his exam grade—a 9 out of 10, the highest mark that is generally awarded[7]—and presented his diploma, certified with the signatures of all the commission members. The crowd applauded, and many people congratulated James on his performance. He, his friends and family eventually retired to a nearby café to celebrate. Usually, the accompanying musicians playing on the exam (who are not paid[8]) would also be presented with a token gift at this time, such as a bottle of wine or box of chocolates.

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[5] Until the mid-1980s, a list of all conservatory graduates in the Netherlands was also published in the Dutch music periodical *Mens en Melodie*.

[6] Van Egmond (1936-), a baritone and the Conservatorium's long-time Baroque voice teacher, is particularly renowned for his performances in Nikolaus Harnoncourt and Gustav Leonhardt's Bach cantata series recorded for Telefunken. He was the department's director from the late 1990s until his retirement at the end of the 2002 school year.

In many ways, James's final exam was typical of the dozens of such performances I witnessed during my years as a Conservatorium student. Still, the behaviours of the commission and the audience warrant closer examination and interpretation. Firstly, why were so many people hanging around after the concert? That Van Egmond addressed *them* specifically—and not only the candidate—made it clear that it was entirely expected that the audience would be interested in his remarks and, perhaps more specifically, James's grade. Indeed, for *overhang* exams or *tentamens* (end-of-the-year juries for continuing students), students almost always perform in a closed room, they are not given a grade, and remarks are made to them afterwards in private.[9] This suggests that the public reading of the results is actually intended more for the audience than for the candidates themselves. Not only does it satisfy the public's desire to know the mark, but it is also a way for more junior students to measure their own performance levels against this "standard."

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[7] I have heard of a few 10s being awarded in the past, but such stories were the stuff of legend at the Conservatorium, recounted by students with a mixture of awe and amazement. In my four years as a CvA student, I do not recall anyone receiving a mark higher than 9 for an exam.

[8] The CvA does on occasion supply harpsichordists (the three instructors who also teach the instrument as a second subject) and a viola da gambist to play for exams, but they are paid by the Conservatorium as part of a staff member's teaching hours, and not by the students directly. While the small gifts recitalists present to their colleagues do not, in any economically meaningful sense, compensate them for their rehearsal time or performance skills, many choose to participate to forge connections—either with the student themselves (if they play together in an ensemble), or with the student's teacher (if this person is viewed as likely to help them get work).

However, what, precisely, did this grade of 9 represent? What, for example, had distinguished his exam from the student who played immediately before him, who had received a mark of 8? The latter student, Michelle, expressed some disappointment with her mark. She had performed an exam perhaps equal in difficulty to James, and had also performed her French suite from memory—a feat which was not required of Early Music students, nor one frequently seen in the department's student concerts or exams, with the exception of the recorder students.[10] It was arguable, however, that James was more at ease on the stage and played with greater self-confidence, which accounted for the higher mark. In any case, the Conservatorium's catalogue did not provide any guidelines about grading standards. Some exams—particularly those for the two-year postgraduate certificate[11] and the

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[9] Still, it is not uncommon for a student's friends and collaborating musicians to wait just outside the door in order to hear the results as soon as possible afterward.

[10] The memorization of a written-out score for public performance does not seem to have been common until the 19th century and is not representative of 18th-century practice. Clara Wieck Schumann is one of the first musicians known to perform recitals from memory (Reich 2001), as was Franz Liszt, who committed many works to memory under the guidance of his teacher Carl Czerny (Walker 2001). The blind German flutist Friedrich Ludwig Dülon (1769-1826), who concertized widely in Europe, is one notable exception (Powell 2001), but memorization does not seem to have been the norm.

[11] This two-year program was primarily designed for foreign students who already had a conservatory diploma from another institution. It was particularly ideal for Early Musicians, who might need extra time to master an historical instrument after switching from a modern one. This degree was eliminated with the advent of the Bachelor/Master system in the 2002-03 school year.

Second Phase diplomas—were usually not graded at all.[12] Apart from the lack of memorization and the earlier repertoire, most Early Music exams differed little in terms of structure and ceremony from those I observed in the Classical[13] department. While purportedly different in approach, the two programs did not operate independently of each other. It was common for Lucas Vis, the CvA's director, or a teacher from the Classical department to sit on Early Music department commissions; for example, a modern pianist or flutist might adjudicate the fortepiano or traverso exams. The reverse, however, was rarely the case.[14] This suggests that the "modern" teachers were necessary somehow to validate the results of the Early Music exams within the larger context of the conservatory.

The nature of the commission's comments are also noteworthy, both in the context of other post-exam remarks I had heard, and in terms of James's performance history at the Conservatorium. I had also attended James's postgraduate certificate exam the previous year. At that time, the commission remarked that he played the Baroque oboe with excellent technique (which, given that he did not come from a modern oboe background, he had acquired with remarkable speed and facility) but that his musical expression was less developed. It was remarkable that the commission evaluated technical skill (presumably finger dexterity, intonation, embouchure control and other aspects which demonstrate physical mastery of the instrument) and musicality as two separate entities to be considered independently from one another.[15]

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[12] At a harpsichord final exam I attended in 2000, CvA director Lucas Vis explained to the audience that grades were usually not given to Second Phase students because it was thought to be meaningless for musicians who already played at such a high level (however, in this case he announced a grade anyway).

[13] In other words, "mainstream" Classical performance, on modern instruments.

[14] The voice juries in the Classical department were an important exception.

Even more curious, however, was Van Egmond's invoking of the Dutch expression "*doe maar gewoon*" to describe James's playing. He did not translate this during the course of his speech: it was simply taken for granted that the audience (even if it was made up mostly of foreign students, like James himself) understood the meaning of the phrase, and that it was meant in the most validating, complimentary way possible. But what did "acting normal" mean? Why was "acting normal" a positive attribute for an artist or musician, to whom, according to the Romantic conception of the term, one might attribute such qualities as creativity, individuality, subjectivity and perhaps even bohemianism? Was a distinct break with this 19th-century idea of artistry implied? Indeed, what could "*doe maar gewoon*" mean for a musician—and an Early Musician at that?

In day-to-day usage, Dutch parents will often use this term as a rebuke when their child is acting up. In this sense, it means "Keep in line!" or "Stop misbehaving!" This was not, however, why Van Egmond invoked "*doe maar gewoon*" in this context. Rather, he meant that James's playing was not mannered or extreme: the committee felt that he had found a good balance between literally playing the notes on the page, so to speak, and his own freedom of expression. Effectively, however, Early Music students learn to "act normal" in a number of ways. They need to follow the requirements of the institution (for example by completing coursework, participating in classes and projects, and passing their examinations), and they must also display an understanding of the conventions of 18th-century performance practice, as gleaned from a reading of treatises and as passed on to them from their teachers. At the same time, they aim to be creative and to express their individual personalities. In sum, Early Music students must strike a balance between mastering these performance and behavioural conventions and expressing their musical ideas.

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[15] Kingsbury (1988, 97-8; 137-8) noted a similar dichotomy between "technical" and "musical" playing in the discourse of students and teachers at the Eastern Metropolitan Conservatory.

Theoretical Approaches to Music Pedagogy

As the pivotal moment in a student's musical career thus far, the graduation exam highlights a number of important questions about the Conservatorium van Amsterdam's system of instruction, and, especially, the values, goals and aesthetics of its historical performance program. Developing a theoretical framework to explain how the Early Music department functions, however, poses many challenges. Ethnomusicologists, certainly, have long been interested in music education and its social function. Following in the wake of Mantle Hood's (1960) advocacy of bimusicality, numerous scholars have used a period of musical study in the field not only to acquire insider knowledge of a particular musical tradition, but also to analyze the very nature of music instruction itself. This might, for instance, involve a consideration of the learning process and music cognition (Brinner 1995), the teacher-disciple relationship (Qureshi 1986, Kippen 1988, Bakan 1999), the acquisition of techniques such as memorization, improvisation, extemporization and ornamentation (e.g., Rice 1994), and other aspects involved in the passing on of a musical tradition to the next generation.[16] There have been few ethnographic studies, however, of how music is taught within an institutional framework, apart from Kingsbury's (1988) ethnography of a major American conservatory, and Nettl's (1995) consideration of university music instruction in the Midwest. In part, the paucity of institutional studies in ethnomusicology can be explained by a concentration within the discipline on non-western societies, where formal musical training within a school remains rare.[17] Born's (1995) ethnography of IRCAM, an organization designed for the creation and promotion of avant-garde western art music, is another potential model for institutional ethnography, but IRCAM's mission is not educational in the same way as a school, university or conservatory.

The field of educational sociology provides an alternative perspective which has some application to music instruction. In this area, the work of Pierre Bourdieu has been seminal, particularly in regard to his analysis of the French higher education system (e.g., Bourdieu 1984, 1988; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). Bourdieu, however, has been primarily concerned with education's connection to socioeconomic class stratification on a larger, or macrosociological, scale.

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[16] For an overview of these issues and a more complete literature review, see Stock 2003 and Rice 2003.

[17] Studies of music instruction within guilds, apprenticeships and private student-teacher relationships are summarized in Rice 2003, but these are distinctly different in nature from the kind of instruction found in a formal school. Weintraub (1993) has considered music theory instruction in Indonesian state-run conservatories, but his approach is not a systemic analysis per se. It is also surprising that there have been as of yet no major studies of Chinese or Japanese music conservatories.

Specifically, he suggests that France's extremely hierarchical school system, despite its meritocratic veneer, only serves to reinforce existing class inequalities. Later scholars working in this tradition have applied Bourdieu's theoretical framework to consider how education systems in other societies can also undermine class mobility and reproduce gender, racial or ethnic disparities (e.g., Halsey et al. 1997, Ball 2004; regarding music education specifically, see Green 2003).

But how might such educational institutions operate on a smaller, microsociological, level? While the Conservatorium van Amsterdam is very cosmopolitan, with students from a diversity of cultures and nations, most come from a middle class background, given the costs involved in studying abroad. As such, class struggle is not a significant issue in this environment, though in my experience, CvA students from Eastern Europe tend to be less well-off financially than those from the Western, European Union-member countries.[18] An examination of the complex relations between teachers, students and the administration nevertheless reveals an unequal power dynamic between these groups, one which tends to run across generational and aesthetic lines rather than class, race or gender. It is these social networks, along with the teaching curriculum and methodology, which together have a profound impact on the learning process within the authoritarian structure of the conservatory.

In this regard, some aspects of Bourdieu's practice theory have been particularly useful in clarifying the social organization and ideology of the CvA as an institution, in particular his notions of *habitus*, *field* and *doxa* (Bourdieu 1977). By field, Bourdieu refers to a set of institutions, rules and conventions which are hierarchical in nature and serve to regulate practice. There, individuals and groups compete with each other in a struggle to accumulate capital and power. Despite the appearance of social and economic mobility, Bourdieu argues that the unequal power relations in a field have a strong tendency to be reproduced. The Dutch Early Music scene could thus be regarded as the field in which such organizations as conservatories, Baroque orchestras, chamber music groups, amateur clubs and instrument manufacturers operate and compete with one another for audiences and/or students, status, government funding, and other potential sources of capital.

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[18] It is arguable, however, that gender bias plays a role in conservatory education, but it is not the primary focus of this study.

I will focus for the moment, however, on the Conservatorium van Amsterdam's environment, which acts as a sort of "micro-field" within the Netherlands' Early Music community. At the CvA, a particular practice of historical performance has developed, one which is characterized not only by its specialized repertoire (particularly European music composed prior to 1800), the use of period instruments, the reference to certain treatises and *Urtext* or facsimile editions, and a set of vocal or instrumental performance techniques, but also such intangible qualities as taste, discourse and language, a musical decision-making process, and other behaviours which are shared by the Department's Early Music practitioners. In other words, an Early Musician's understanding of musical taste helps her to decide what is an "extreme" interpretation, or what is a "bland" one; discourse refers to how administrators, teachers and students communicate with each other, and the kind of terminology they employ; musical decision-making includes forming a consensus in an ensemble, deciding on the appropriate tempo, articulation or dynamics for a musical work, or even what instrument to use. It is the latter group of characteristics, a repertoire—not only a musical repertoire, but one of behavioural "scripts", a collective knowledge, a set of beliefs and values, even body language and other partly unconscious behaviours, which constitute the *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977, 76) of the Dutch Early Music field.

For Bourdieu, it is the school which plays an exceptionally powerful role in the codification and transmission of a cultural practice:

> As a 'habit-forming force' the school provides those who have undergone its direct or indirect influence not so much with particular and particularized schemes of thought as with that general disposition which engenders particular schemes, which may then be applied in different domains of thought and action, a disposition that one could call the cultivated *habitus*….In a society where the transmission of culture is the monopoly of a school, the underlying affinities uniting works of learned culture (and at the same time behaviour and thought) are governed by the principle emanating from the educational institutions. These institutions are entrusted with the function of transmitting consciously (and also in part unconsciously) the unconscious. More precisely, the school produces individuals who possess this system of unconscious (or extremely obscure) schemes constituting their culture. (Bourdieu 1971, 184-5)

As such, the conservatory is the primary institution through which the music student is enculturated and prepared for entry into the Early Music field. It instils a certain pattern of behaviours and beliefs (the above-described *habitus*), and it is through its institutional framework that such a *habitus* comes to seem both natural and normal.

The conservatory education is the principal mechanism by which this Early Music practice is reproduced in the next generation of musicians.[19]

In this regard, then, it can be said that James, the Baroque oboe student, was not only a highly-skilled musician upon graduation. His performance had also been evaluated by those in a position of authority within the conservatory system, and, having been judged favourably, was found to be consistent with the Early Music Department's values and practices. "Acting normal", in this case, means successfully interpreting and reproducing these behaviours, and navigating the system. Indeed, given the high stakes involved, Conservatorium students face a fine balancing act: they must demonstrate both technical competence and musical self-assurance, yet they may not perform or behave in a way that is considered too extreme at lessons and examinations; at the same time, they cannot be too timid, or self-effacing.

Nevertheless, the Conservatorium van Amsterdam can hardly be said to present a unified aesthetic or pedagogical position to students, which is where my analysis departs somewhat from Bourdieu's model. Within the CvA, and within the Early Music department in particular, two main structures—which could be described as two different philosophies of music instruction—compete for authority.[20] The first is a traditional conservatory approach, developed from a 19th-century system of institutionalized music education, and is perhaps epitomized by the Paris Conservatoire. It emphasizes a uniform pedagogical method, a hierarchical social organization which privileges the authoritarian role of the master teacher,[21] a group or master class method of instruction, and a prioritization of technical control and virtuosity. The second, by contrast, is the Early Music department's alternative objective, as stated in its programme guide: "In keeping with international trends, we define *Early Music studies* as *making music with an understanding of history*" (emphasis in original).[22] As I will argue below, the traditional approach to conservatory education has become so thoroughly ingrained among musicians, and so standardized, that this system is taken as self-evident: it has, in effect, become a *doxa* (Bourdieu 1977, 164; 1980, 68). Because the CvA's teachers were themselves educated in such a system, and because nearly all the Early Music students have completed another conservatory degree elsewhere (usually on a modern instrument) in a similar type of institution, this kind of music instruction seems entirely normal and natural to them; it becomes difficult to conceive of any other possible form or system.[23] The extent to which the Early Music department's approach to "making music" and "understanding history" can present a competing discourse is thus seriously challenged by the dominant conservatory paradigm.

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[19] This is not to ignore the fact that Early Musicians are exposed to other enculturating forces, for example by listening to recordings and absorbing aspects of musical style, or by attending summer workshops with teachers outside their home conservatory. Since nearly all professional musicians enrol in a conservatory at some point, however, it remains a very powerful factor in their development.

[20] Arguably the jazz department presents yet another philosophy of music instruction; no doubt some of the CvA's non-western musical offerings (e.g., the gamelan ensemble, the Contemporary Music through Non-Western Techniques course, etc.) present still others. I will focus here on the relationship of the Classical and Early Music approaches, however, as it is the most central to my study.

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[21] To whom, as Kingsbury argues, students are connected through "pedagogical lineages" (Kingsbury 1988, 44-6).

[22] See Conservatorium van Amsterdam 2003, 4. The phrasing in the programme guide has remained consistent since at least 1999.

[23] Bourdieu (1977, 164) distinguishes the *doxa* from "an orthodox or heterodox belief implying awareness and recognition of the possibility of different or antagonistic beliefs."

Because of this grounding in the conservatory system, then, one might be tempted to argue that the great irony of the Early Music Department is that its main repertoire focus—18th-century music—is performed and taught within an system developed for entirely different repertoire and performance ideals, and only anachronistically applied to Early Music. However, the Conservatorium van Amsterdam is *not* a 19th-century institution per se. The approach to music instruction in the Dutch conservatories represents an adaptation to economic, social and aesthetic constraints placed upon it during the turbulent and transformative years of the late 1960s and 1970s (see Chapter Seven). At this time, Dutch social welfare policy dictated that music instruction, like all the arts, should be open and accessible to all. As student enrolments rose, and the number of accredited conservatories increased, this policy came into direct confrontation with, on the one hand, the traditional 19th-century conservatory values, which advocate selectivity and elitism at the highest levels of instruction, and, on the other hand, federal budget cuts which limited the scope of such an ambitious educational and socio-political project. The broadening of the conservatory instrumentarium to include instruction of non-traditional orchestral instruments (including folk, popular and jazz, "world" and Early musics) nevertheless entailed that some instruments would have more status than others within the conservatory's hierarchy. And while European music composed prior to 1800—especially Baroque music—may be the central focus of Amsterdam's Early Music Department, the practice of historical performance therein is shaped by such late Romantic and 20th-century ideals as historicism, textual fidelity, and respect for the composer. The resulting system of Early Music education, then, is effectively a combination and compromise—albeit an uneasy one—of such competing and contradictory aesthetic values, historical judgements, institutional systems, and economic considerations.

The Conservatorium, the Early Music Field, and Forms of Capital

While developing a model to describe how the Early Music Department functions on the ground level, in its day-to-day operations, it is also important, at the same time, to contextualize the Conservatorium's position within the cultural field at large. In this respect, Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital helps to account for the sometimes surprising behaviours of the conservatory's population. In "The Forms of Capital", an essay in which this system is most clearly articulated, Bourdieu (1997) argues that people seek to accumulate several kinds of resources and assets, not only those which are purely economic (i.e., money, property and control over the means of production). They may also seek power and influence by acquiring *cultural capital*, which can be "embodied", in the form of degrees and credentials guaranteed by the state (through its institutions), or "objectified", through the collection of art works, books, musical instruments, etc.; or *social capital* (such as networks and connections). To this, Bourdieu (1990, 112-21) also adds *symbolic capital*, such as prestige, clout or honour. Eventually, this social, cultural and symbolic capital may be transformed into economic capital. While reducing the actions of musicians to purely economic terms may seem overly deterministic, Swartz counters that Bourdieu's intention is actually quite the opposite:

> …a key contribution of Bourdieu beyond Marx is to see a much broader range of types of labor (social, cultural, political, religious, familial, to name but a few) that constitute power resources, and that under certain conditions and at certain rates can be converted one into another. Indeed, it is the study of how and under what conditions individuals and groups employ strategies of capital accumulating, investing, and converting various kinds of capital in order to maintain or enhance their positions in the social order that constitutes a central focus of Bourdieu's sociology. (Swartz 1997, 75)

In this manner, it becomes possible to interpret the seemingly irrational or unproductive—from a purely Marxist perspective—behaviours of musicians, such as the devotion of considerable time and expense to establishing social networks, playing on occasion without pay (such as the accompanying musicians who performed on James's oboe exam described above), or the accumulation of multiple degrees. Cottrell, in his ethnography of London's freelance musical scene, subsumes much of this conduct under the term *musical capital*, which he sees as distinct from Bourdieu's social and symbolic capital (Cottrell 2004, 65-7). I concur on the whole with Cottrell's analysis, particularly his attempt to revive the notion of personal agency to explain musicians' behaviour, and his assertion that "musicians are conscious of the different amounts of musical capital represented by these events, and are thus able *deliberately* to process them for their own ends" (66). Indeed, for Early Musicians, the choice to study historical performance and to eschew conventional instruments and performing practices is a very conscious decision.

Still, while Cottrell is correct to note that musicians may acquire symbolic capital throughout their careers, it is clear that educational credentials and pedagogical lineage play the most prominent role in their CVs and biographies, and it is through their institutional affiliation and principal teachers that musicians—particularly recent conservatory graduates—distinguish themselves from others. Moreover, the relationships established between teachers and students, and amongst the students themselves, are the foundation for the professional networks musicians use to acquire future work. Many teachers bring advanced students as second players to their orchestral gigs; conductors may then recruit such students, particularly violinists, for their groups as the need arises. Additionally, most students form their own ensembles with their conservatory colleagues, and some, such as the recorder ensembles Amsterdam Loeki Stardust Quartet and, most recently, QNG (Quartet New Generation, formed by four recent Conservatorium graduates), have gone on to win prestigious competitions, tours and recording contracts. It seems fair to say that Early Musicians are even more dependent upon these conservatory networks than mainstream Classical musicians because of the lack of formal auditions for most orchestral work (see Chapter Six).

Within this economic framework, then, the conservatory—as a concrete and authoritative institution—acts as a keystone, underpinning the Early Music community as a whole. Indeed, it is the very institutionalization of the educational process which has granted not only Early Music but other artistic forms their legitimacy and status within the cultural field at large, as Bourdieu has argued elsewhere (Bourdieu 1971). Writing specifically about jazz, cinema and photography, Bourdieu places these three types of art in an intermediate category between high and low cultural forms labelled "the sphere of what is in process of legitimation." He notes that they

> …do not occasion (because they do not insist upon it to the same extent) the reverence which is commonly found in the presence of works of learned culture. It is true that some virtuosi are carrying over, into these arts in the process of becoming legitimate, models of behaviour which are current in the domain of traditional culture. But in the absence of an institution devoted to teaching them systematically and methodically and thereby giving them the seal of respectability as constituent parts of legitimate culture, most people experience them in an entirely different way. If learned knowledge of the history of these arts and familiarity with the technical rules or theoretical principles that characterize them are only found in exceptional circumstances, it is because people do not feel bound, as they do elsewhere, to make the effort to acquire, retain and transmit the corpus of knowledge which goes to make up the necessary condition and ritual accompaniment of learned consumption. (Bourdieu 1971, 175-6)

It is no small irony—or coincidence—that the Conservatorium van Amsterdam houses two of the Netherlands' most important programs in Early Music and jazz under the same roof. Both musical forms share an important commonality: previously on the margins of mainstream acceptability, the practitioners of these genres have asserted their cultural status by seeking a place within the conservatory, one of western art music's most prestigious institutions.

At the same time, however, Bourdieu does not consider here that artists and musicians in this intermediate sphere may also have purely economic—rather than symbolic—reasons behind their choice to institutionalize.[24] The possibility of employment by a state-run institution, with its guaranteed work hours, salary and pension, offers musicians some financial stability and a buffer against the freelance market's volatility. This resonates somewhat with Cottrell's observation that

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[24] In part, this is because Bourdieu, in the above-cited passage, refers to cultural *consumers* (and their reception of cultural forms), and not cultural *producers*.

> ...for musicians, the necessity of earning a living does not allow a completely free choice of engagements, nor the 'luxury' of one predicated solely on social class or personal taste...musicians may choose to undertake an engagement they do not particularly wish to fulfil simply because of the financial rewards it offers. Their need to earn a living through their reproduction of culture does not allow them a choice in the way that Bourdieu's theory of cultural consumption suggests. (Cottrell 2004, 66-7)

Furthermore, it is clear that many musicians I interviewed enjoy teaching for its own sake, and derive much personal satisfaction from it, regardless of its perceived financial or social rewards, the tremendous time commitment involved, or the occasional bureaucratic frustrations of working within an institution. Still, a conservatory teaching position holds more social prestige than a private studio, and a post at one of the more selective conservatories like Amsterdam or The Hague is far more desirable than those outside the *randstad*.[25] Securing a position at the more prestigious schools ensures an instructor both economic security and social capital.

What is more, the close connection with the conservatory has been a particularly vital component of the Early Music community's identity. In the Netherlands and elsewhere, the historical performance movement has long had what could be termed a love-hate relationship with the amateur community at its roots. It is undeniable that Early Music's consistent strength in the amateur sector provides it with continued audience support and a market for its concert performances and commercial products, especially instrument sales and CDs (see Chapters Six and

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[25] In light of the conservatory closings, cutbacks and mergers which have occurred in recent years, Amsterdam and The Hague also offer greater employment security than the smaller conservatories elsewhere in the country.

Seven). At the same time, however, Early Musicians in the conservatory simultaneously seek to distance themselves from these origins, which are pejoratively associated with lower playing standards, and to claim their authority in this cultural field by asserting their "professionalism". While a "professional" musician is typically understood to be a person who earns their living performing a particular skill or trade, and who conforms to an accepted level or standard, what is meant by "professionalism" specifically is not defined by the Conservatorium's calendar, syllabi or faculty; indeed, as I shall argue in the following two chapters, the concept is just as much a mystification as other contested terms typically employed by musicians, such as "talent" (Kingsbury 1988, 59-83), "musicality" and "individuality" (Cottrell 2004, 34-40).[26] Still, regardless of its fluidity, the concept has particular resonance to Dutch Early Musicians, given the number of gigs (particularly Bach Passion gigs) which combine both amateur and professional players, the scarcity of paid work in the field overall, and the low rate of pay. Degrees, and other acquired forms of cultural capital, help Early Musicians to assert authority over lesser-skilled players and allow them to argue for financial compensation comparable to mainstream classical musicians.

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[26] Kingsbury (1988, 47-8) also considers "professionalism" within the context of orchestral playing, but only in passing. Davies (2004) likewise reflects on the subjective nature of the term for teachers and students at the Birmingham Conservatoire. She observes that "the Conservatoire's official discourse of 'professionalism' rests on the assumption that students require 'talent' and 'effort' to develop and succeed professionally" (804). Note how the use of two other mystified terms—as cited from the conservatory's own literature—are used to define the third. Nevertheless, I feel that Davies's analysis is one-sided and overly reliant on her reading of the school's prospectus. She gives no indication that the students she interviewed even read this document; her argument would also be strengthened had she considered the views of the Conservatoire's administration and faculty in her study.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CONSERVATORY EARLY MUSIC DEPARTMENT: DEMOGRAPHICS, CURRICULUM AND SCOPE

Introduction

While the Dutch Early Music community has fluid boundaries, the conservatory, as a concrete institution, serves as a pillar within it. The Conservatorium van Amsterdam houses a significant cross-section of practicing musicians at different stages of their careers, and also aspiring professionals. An examination of its Early Music Department, then, can provide a case study of how one institution is affected by larger economic forces; at the same time, it can simultaneously demonstrate, on a local scale, the means by which a musical practice is reproduced in the next generation. A purely materialist perspective of how the conservatory functions within the cultural field, as outlined in Chapter Two, can thus be reconciled with a "thicker" ethnographic approach, one which accounts for the uniqueness of individual agency and experience.

How the structures imposed by the institution affect musical performances, and how the social relations between different conservatory groups play out, can best be illustrated by following the Early Music student through the Conservatorium and detailing the lessons, classes, projects and other events he or she encounters. First, however, it is necessary to give a profile of the institution as a whole in order to position the Early Music department within it.

The Conservatorium van Amsterdam and the Dutch Education System: An Overview

The Conservatorium van Amsterdam, the largest conservatory in the Netherlands, is a division of the Amsterdamse Hogeschool voor de Kunsten (Amsterdam School of the Arts), a conglomeration of several postsecondary arts academies. Most of these other arts schools—the Academie voor Beeldende Vorming (Academy of Fine Arts), the Nederlandse Film en Televisie Academie (Netherlands Film and Television Academy) the Theaterschool, the Reinwardt Academie,[1] and the Academie van Bouwkunst (Amsterdam Academy of Architecture)—in addition to the AHK's central administration and financial offices, are located in the Jodenbreestraat, near the Waterlooplein, at some distance from the Conservatorium's Van Baerlestraat location. While students can enroll in joint classes between the institutions as electives, in practice each institution has its own director and separate curriculum, admissions and examination process. With the exception of occasional collaborative projects between dancers at the Theater School and composers from the CvA, in my experience, the student bodies of the different arts schools remain quite separate as well.

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[1] Unlike the other schools, the Reinwardt Academie is located in the Dapperstraat, in the eastern part of the city.

The origins of the Conservatorium van Amsterdam date to 1884, although the present-day institution was formed from a merger (*fusie*) of several other music schools. In 1976, two Amsterdam conservatories, the Muzieklyceum and the Amsterdams Conservatorium, combined with the postsecondary program of the Muziekschool Haarlem to form the Sweelinck Conservatorium. The Hilversums Conservatorium, located about 35 kilometres southeast of Amsterdam in the Netherlands' television and radio broadcasting centre, and the Sweelinck Conservatorium, then merged to form the Conservatorium van Amsterdam in 1994.[2] Hilversum, which was best known for its jazz program, also had a fledgling Early Music department, with a number of the members of Musica Antiqua Köln on its staff. It was an uneasy fit with Sweelinck's more traditional, Classical conservatory education system. Furthermore, Sweelinck's more established historical performance program, with its large numbers of harpsichord, recorder and Baroque violin students, meant that there would be considerable overlap in teaching personnel.

With the completion of the merger and the closing of the Hilversum facility in 1998, the two schools combined their programs in Amsterdam's Van Baerlestraat location. Due to budget constraints and overcrowding, the new institution was forced to cut back on both staff and students. In the four years after the merger, enrolment dropped from a combined 1300 students in both institutions to some 850 students at the new Conservatorium van Amsterdam in 1999.[3] The number of full-time equivalent faculty (FTE) positions was cut from 130 to 100; given that most teachers had an appointment of 0,3 FTEs, this meant that approximately 100 positions overall were eliminated (HBO-raad 2001, Vol. B, 7). By comparison, the Royal Conservatory in The Hague had some 791 students enrolled in 2000, with a faculty of 266 (HBO-raad 2001, Vol. B, 310).[4]

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[2] See Chapter Seven, pp.348; 369-74.

[3] Enrolment figures for 1999 were as follows: 791 full-time students, of which 523 were in the Classical music program, and 231 were in jazz; of these, 676 students were enrolled in the First Phase degree, and 115 in the Second Phase. Additional programs included composition (10 students),

One of the main advantages of the merger, however, is that the Conservatorium van Amsterdam can offer a broad range of course offerings, covering many different musical genres and styles. In addition to its Classical and Jazz Departments, it also offers a preparatory division for high school students (*Jong Talent*, or Young Talents) and a preliminary or probationary program for 16- to 18-year-olds (the *Vooropleiding*). Its principal subjects include all the major keyboard, orchestral and jazz instruments, voice, an opera department (The New Opera Academy, a joint program with the Royal Conservatory), composition, conducting, church music, General Formative Music Education (school music), and additional courses in World Music (particularly the musics of Turkey, Indonesia, India and Latin America). These World Music classes emphasize practical training in instrumental or vocal techniques rather than an anthropological or theoretical approach, and the instructors have a particularly close interaction with the school music, jazz and composition faculty.[5]

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conducting (26), theory (1) and *Schoolmuziek/AMV*, or School Music/General Formative Music Education (44) (HBO-raad 2001, Vol. B, 43-44). By 2000, there were a total of 907 students enrolled, with 781 in the First Phase and 126 in the Second Phase (HBO-raad 2001, Vol. B, 7).

[4] Not included here, however, are students enrolled in the dance program.

[5] Ethnomusicology is taught instead at the University of Amsterdam.

The Conservatorium's degree system has undergone several changes in the past twenty-five years, which requires some explication, given its difference from the North American or British systems (see Chapter Seven, p. 375 ff.). In the early 1980s, two diplomas were issued by the Dutch conservatories following a five or six-year period of study: the *Docerend Musicus* ("teaching musician"), or DM, and the *Uitvoerend Musicus* ("performing musician") or UM degree. While the DM diploma was specifically intended to be a music education degree, the UM program was considered to be far more prestigious. In 1994, as part of an attempt by the federal Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (MinOCenW) to standardize higher education degrees in the arts schools, the initial period of study was reduced from six to four years, and by 1998, the diplomas were renamed. The *Eerste Fase* (First Phase), a four-year program, supplanted the old DM degree, and the *Tweede Fase* (Second Phase), intended to be highly selective, became a two-year program replacing the UM. An additional two-year degree, the postgraduate certificate, was also offered to students (mainly foreigners) who had already completed a First Phase or undergraduate program at another conservatory.[6]

Most recently, the Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap (MinOCenW, or Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences) has been overhauling the Dutch higher education system, and converting its programs into a degree structure that will be recognized by other European Union members and foreign countries. The WO (*Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs*, or university) system recently changed over to a Bachelor/Master system along British and North American models, and the HBO (*Hoger Beroeps Onderwijs*, or higher professional education) system, which includes the conservatories and art schools, is following suit. Although the Conservatorium's First Phase degrees were renamed Bachelors degrees in the 2002-03 school year, and a separate degree was created for music education (the Bachelor of Music in Education), the Second Phase has not, at the time of this writing, been accredited as a Masters; this degree now goes by the name *Voortgezette opleiding* (Advanced Study program).[7] The postgraduate certificate has been virtually eliminated, though it is still available in The Hague. There are also plans to implement a doctoral program, called docARTES, which would grant PhDs to senior music students through Belgian and Dutch universities.[8]

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[6] In The Hague, Early Music students generally complete the certificate program first at the end of two years of study; after their exam, they may be invited to complete the Bachelors program. Additional information is found at the Royal Conservatory's website: http://www.koncon.nl/public_site/KLASSIEK/EMstudyoptions.html (accessed 5 August 2005).

The Second Phase, or Voortgezette opleiding, has been the pinnacle of the Dutch conservatory education system. This degree, which was originally supposed to have been offered by only two of the nation's top music schools, is effectively available to students at nine of the eleven conservatories.[9] Still, the Second Phase program is far more selective, with a little more than one hundred students enrolled in the Conservatorium van Amsterdam. Generally, the First Phase or Bachelors final exam serves as the admissions exam, and students must earn a minimum grade of 8, plus a comment of "admissible to the Advanced Study program" from the commission in order to be considered. This program was also meant to have a stronger academic focus than the old UM degree: students must submit a study plan outlining a special research project or repertoire focus for their graduate program, and they can enroll in special "masters courses".

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[7] See Chapter Seven, p. 379-80, regarding the new Bachelors/Masters system in the Netherlands and its impact on music education.

[8] See Chapter Seven, p. 380-81.

[9] See Chapter Seven, pp. 375-80. The heated battle amongst the directors of all the national conservatories to obtain the Second Phase program is indicative of just how prestigious the degree was perceived to be.

It may seem ironic that being asked to study for a *longer* period of time would be perceived as beneficial, or prestigious, to music students: if they were playing at a very high level, might they not already be sufficiently qualified for professional work? However, it is the changing structure of the Dutch education system and the competitiveness of the marketplace which have tended to encourage conservatory students to remain in school and enroll in higher degrees. Both of these phenomena are an indirect result of the tremendous expansion of the postsecondary education sector, beginning in the late 1960s. In part, the growth of the number of institutions of higher learning and their rising enrolments can be explained by the postwar baby boom and the resultant student population growth it brought about. In this regard, the educational expansion in the Netherlands corresponds to developments elsewhere in Western Europe and in North America. However, participation in tertiary education mushroomed disproportionately in this period, even when one considers demographic factors (Van der Ploeg 1993, 1). As such, one must take into account the government policies of the 1970s which prioritized *democratisering*,[10] or the making of higher education more accessible for all Dutch citizens. By the mid-1970s, the number of accredited postsecondary music schools rose to a height of seventeen theoretically equal institutions to accommodate these needs. Enrolment inflation meant less competitive entrance standards and an overproduction of musicians in the marketplace: the result was diploma devaluation.[11] Because closing some of the music schools in the regions was politically unpalatable (at least, at first), the government responded by instituting a hierarchical degree structure, creating first the UM, and then the Second Phase diplomas, with more restricted access to this upper education level. Thus, a Bachelors/First Phase student, having successfully gained admission to a conservatory and navigated the first four years of the program, yet who is not admitted to the Second Phase, is nevertheless *selected against* by the exam commission which bars access to the upper educational level. This tends to decrease the value of the initial diploma because it places graduates in the market whose superior credentials make them (at least theoretically) more qualified than those with only an undergraduate degree.

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[10] Democratization, or ensuring equal access to educational opportunities regardless of class or location within the country (i.e., students in the less populous east and northern regions of the Netherlands should have the same educational opportunities as those in the *randstad*).

This process of degree devaluation in the Netherlands is similar to what Bourdieu observed following the expansion and "democratization" of the French education system:

> When class fractions who previously made little use of the school system enter the race for academic qualifications, the effect is to force the groups whose reproduction was mainly or exclusively achieved through education to step up their investments so as to maintain the relative scarcity of their qualifications and, consequently, their position in the class structure. Academic qualifications and the school system which awards them thus become one of the key stakes in an interclass competition which generates a

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[11] This is not an effect seen only for music diplomas. As Van der Ploeg has observed, diploma devaluation and the "declining individual returns" on the investment in a postsecondary degree have occurred across Dutch higher education in general (1993, 108).

> general and continuous growth in the demand for education and an inflation of academic qualifications. (Bourdieu 1984, 133)

What Bourdieu sees as an outgrowth of class struggle, however, does not precisely describe the effect here, given that the degree devaluation is occurring within *one institution*, or a similar group of institutions (the conservatories), and among a relatively homogenous socioeconomic population (potential professional musicians).

The exponential growth in the number of music students since the 1960s suggests that, while people from outside the traditional artisan/musician classes were probably entering the music postsecondary education stream in greater numbers, more and more people saw a conservatory degree as valuable—*culturally* valuable, at least, even if it did not necessarily translate into economic capital. The overall population of young adults produced by the post-war baby boom only partially accounts for the rise in conservatory enrolment in the late 1960s and 70s. The question, of course, is why arts and music education became so attractive to this generation. The historian James C. Kennedy has argued that an artistic "renaissance" in the Netherlands during the early 1960s accounted for the increasingly prominent role of artists in Dutch society. As he put it, "in a society with both leisure time and financial security, the importance of creativity found much resonance" (1995, 227-8). Certainly, western art music continued to be of enormous cultural importance to the middle classes. I would also suggest that the critical role arts education played in the social programs of the 1970s both created a need for skilled teachers and workers in the cultural sector, and inspired many young people to enter into the arts professions. Moreover, the association of some prominent musicians and artists with countercultural movements leant these fields prestige and "street credibility" to a generation of disaffected young adults.

Recently, however, the inflation of the number of musicians, coupled with reduced job opportunities in the market, have resulted in attempts by the government to reduce this pressure by adding more degrees to the diploma hierarchy, thus diffusing the selection process in a more gradual, subtle way. Aside from the diminishing importance of the First Phase/Bachelors degree, there are also other important reasons why Dutch conservatory students might seek to prolong their period of study. Because of the Ministerie van OCenW's *studiefinancering* (study financing) scheme, EU students are eligible for tuition reimbursement and a public transportation pass, usually up until the age of 30 years.[12] Thus, they do not tend to accumulate debt to pay for their postsecondary studies like many North American students, and remaining in school retains their eligibility for government funding while delaying their participation in the volatile and overcrowded music marketplace. For foreign (non-EU) students, particularly those who are getting some professional work (but not quite enough to support themselves), many seek to prolong their stay in the conservatories in order to qualify for a residence permit.[13]

The net result is that enrolling in the Second Phase program means a music student acquires more cultural capital, and a higher social standing, not only within the Early Music field, but also within the Conservatorium itself. In the larger classes, such as piano, violin, voice, harpsichord and recorder, admission is quite competitive and it is considered to be quite an honour to be invited to continue. Students in the Advanced Study program tend to have the most status among their peers: they are usually granted the top conservatory orchestra placements, or they may even be invited to play a solo concerto; they may work as an assistant to their teacher, for example, by scheduling lessons; and they tend to receive priority when the teacher needs a second player for professional orchestral work or chooses to pass on extra gigs in which he or she cannot perform. If an even more selective doctoral (docARTES) program then becomes the terminal degree, however, then the Masters will ultimately lose a good deal of its prestige.

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[12] See Chapter Seven, p. 386.

[13] Foreigners must be enrolled full-time in order to retain their student residence permit. This also allows the music student to work part-time as a performer. In order to qualify for a residence/work permit as an independent, freelance musician, an applicant must demonstrate a certain earned income, which can be very difficult to prove. Many Early Musicians do not receive contracts and are paid "black" for church music services, for example, and such gigs may make up the bulk of their earnings.

Defining the Early Music Department, Part I: Its Size, Scope and Repertoire

The Conservatorium van Amsterdam's Early Music Department continues to play an important role in the Netherlands' Early Music scene, and within the Conservatorium's student body, the Early Musicians form a small but significant minority. Amsterdam has the second largest program in historical performance in the country, with an enrolment of more than fifty students (out of approximately 500 in the Classical program), plus an additional 20 to 25 recorder players (whose exclusion from the Department's figures will shortly become clear), and a faculty of about twenty-two.[14] By comparison, the Royal Conservatory in The Hague boasts the Netherlands' largest Early Music department in terms of both population and breadth: in 1999, it had an enrolment of 148 students, plus 19 recorder players. While The Hague offers the broadest selection of Early Music instruments and study options, students in Amsterdam often debated whether the Royal Conservatory's students played at a higher level. Some students felt that Amsterdam had a little less administrative bureaucracy; also, many stated that they wanted to work with a particular teacher who was only on the faculty in Amsterdam, or that its collection of early pianos, and location in the heart of the historic museum district, were particular draws. Moreover, the Amsterdam Department's smaller size may afford more ensemble-playing opportunities; a recorder player, who had recently transferred, felt that despite the fact that there were so many students in The Hague, there were fewer performances, and that they tended to be dominated by the strongest ensembles.[15] Others felt that there were certain "schools" of playing in fashion at The Hague (such as the requirement that all Baroque violinists there play "off-the-chin"), and that Amsterdam was less rigid in this regard.[16] In any event, the Conservatorium van Amsterdam continues to draw a sizeable body of Early Musicians, and, despite some overlap in teaching faculty, its historical performance program sets itself up as an alternative to that at the Royal Conservatory.[17]

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[14] In 1999, 52 students were enrolled in the Early Music Department, with an additional 20 recorder players (HBO-raad 2001, Vol. B, 43). By 2003, there were 55 Early Music students (Nuchelmans 2003b). In 2004-05, twenty-two faculty members were listed in the Department; this represents a slight decrease since 1999, with the loss of one recorder teacher and a Baroque voice specialist.

[15] This was corroborated by a harpsichordist/fortepiano student at The Hague, who felt that the few performance opportunities there were very pressure-filled, and that one had the feeling that one should not play a piece in public unless it were "perfect". This is not to suggest that having high playing standards is a drawback, but rather that it is an indication that the Dutch Early Music scene has shifted from an experimental phase to a more professionalized one.

[16] A violinist at The Hague with whom I spoke said that this was no longer the case, but the perception that the Royal Conservatorium is a "chin-off" school persists nonetheless.

There are also a few other Dutch conservatories which offer Early Music instruction: it is possible to study some historical instruments in Utrecht (Baroque cello, oboe, traverso, viola da gamba and harpsichord), although only a dozen students were following such majors in 1999; the recorder program, with 17 students, remained popular (HBO-raad 2001, Vol. B, 350, 396). Additionally, there is a small program for vocalists at the Fontys Conservatorium in Tilburg, led by Rebecca Stewart, which focuses on Renaissance and Medieval music. Most of the other conservatories in the Netherlands have also offered Early Music instruction at one time, beginning with harpsichord and recorder in the 1950s. By 1980, for example, it was possible to study the recorder at thirteen different Dutch conservatories; until the mid-1990s, many were offering instruction in harpsichord, viola da gamba, Baroque violin, oboe and traverso as well.[18] However, since the 1990s the federal government has been mandating the shrinking and consolidation of the conservatories as part of its efficiency operations, and as a result, historical performance has now been concentrated in The Hague, Amsterdam and Utrecht.

Defining the CvA Early Music Department's focus in terms of repertoire is somewhat problematic. Although Early Musicians might once have limited themselves to music composed prior to 1800, the interests of the Early Music movement as a whole have broadened in recent years to include early Romantic music, Tchaikovsky, Brahms and beyond; under some circumstances its practitioners may even include modern or conventional instruments.[19] In this respect, the Conservatorium van Amsterdam's Early Music Department may be somewhat "old-fashioned": it focuses primarily on the music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or, as Max van Egmond (2000) put it, "roughly from early Baroque to Rococo to Classical style." At present, it is possible to study the following subjects: voice, recorder, Baroque and Classical flute, Baroque and Classical oboe, Baroque and Classical bassoon, Baroque trumpet, natural horn, Baroque violin, Baroque cello, viola da gamba, violone, lute, harpsichord, clavichord, fortepiano, and organ.[20] While the term "Baroque" figures prominently in the instruments listed above, in most cases it is possible to study repertoire both earlier and later than this historical period. Flutist Marten Root, for example, also offers instruction in Renaissance and 19th-century flutes, and it is typical for fortepianists, violinists, cellists and early brass players to study Classical or early Romantic works. Still, this terminology is nevertheless indicative of the Department's particular emphasis on Baroque music.

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[17] Until his retirement, Gustav Leonhardt's exclusive teaching engagement also leant Amsterdam's Early Music Department a certain prestige and helped to set the program apart from The Hague.
[18] See Chapter Seven, pp. 335-37; 356; 367-68.

Determining the Early Music Department's "membership" is also much more complex than the enrolment statistics, catalogue and website would indicate. Witness the response of Max van Egmond when I asked him what the population of the Early Music Department was in the 2000-01 academic year:

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[19] The work of such Baroque specialists as Harnoncourt and Koopman with modern orchestras is a notable case in point, as is the Dutch ensemble Combattimento Consort, which is funded by the Ministry of Culture as an "Early Music" group, though its musicians perform on modern instruments (see Chapter Six, p.272, n.49).

[20] Instrument names follow the terminology used on the Conservatorium's website (http://www.conservatoriumvanamsterdam.nl/EN/02_studieaanbod/05_oude_muziek/02_docenten/index.jsp Accessed August 8, 2005) and the Early Music Department's 2003-04 programme (Conservatorium van Amsterdam 2003, 2). Eric Hoeprich is also listed as "guest teacher" of historical clarinet, though he has not taught private students in Amsterdam; he has, however, given presentations to modern clarinet students.

> The official list I got from the computer is a rather…[flips through papers] not such a big crowd, in fact…this [points to printout] would all be specially Early Music students but that does *not* include the recorder players because they see themselves as a special little kingdom within the kingdom, since they do—they claim they do—as much contemporary music as Baroque music so they don't want to be part of the Early Music section. So if I have here, let's see…[counts] about 30, 4—…between 40 and 50 people, and then add to that some 20 at least recorder players. And then of course organists, who are not part of it, because they do a lot of Early Music anyhow….so…well, in matters of numbers, at this school, I think, between 50 and 60. And of *those*, oh, I dare say, 70% foreigners.[21] (Van Egmond 2000)

Thus, there are musicians—in particular, recorder players (to whom I will return shortly), but also organists, and Classical students who study an historical instrument as a *bijvak* (secondary subject)—who are not really counted as members of the Early Music Department although they participate in some of its activities. As indicated in the Department catalogue, students in the Classical Department sometimes take Early Music classes and may play in Departmental concerts or projects, even on modern instruments:

> Our conservatory strives for integration. Early Music classes and projects are therefore open to all students. (Conservatorium van Amsterdam 2003, 4)

As Van Egmond (2000) noted, this policy of "integration" between the Classical and Early Music programs is actively encouraged by CvA director Lucas Vis; "he very much likes the links between the two [departments]."[22] The Early Music

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[21] The actual number of foreigners was probably higher. Jan Nuchelmans, Van Egmond's successor, calculated the percentage of foreign students at 85% in 2002-03; in The Hague, 91% of the Early Music students are foreigners (see Chapter Seven, pp. 385).

[22] This kind of interaction appears to be unique to Amsterdam's Department: according to Jan Kleinbussinck, director of the Early Music Department at the Royal Conservatorium, modern

Department's reach, then, extends beyond its full-time enrollment of *hoofdvak* (principal subject) students, and its boundaries are somewhat more porous. In this manner, it has a broader impact on the Conservatorium at large than its relatively small enrolment suggests.

Moreover, the role of two subjects in particular within the Early Music program—the voice and the recorder—requires some explanation. These popular subjects are listed in both the Classical and the Early Music departmental catalogues, and as such they serve as a bridge between the two programs. Although voice is still included as a principal Early Music subject, no specific faculty member has been assigned to this specialization since 2003. This is remarkable, given that Baroque singing has been one of the Department's most important draws for many years, especially for foreign students, and it has a long tradition in Amsterdam: Max van Egmond had been one of the Conservatorium's voice instructors from 1972 until his retirement in 2002;[23] the Dutch bass Peter Kooy also taught Baroque singing from 1991 until 2000 (first at Hilversum's Early Music program, then in Amsterdam following the merger),[24] and Howard Crook, the American tenor, succeeded Kooy

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instrumentalists are not allowed to participate in Early Music projects and "Baroque on Stage" concerts. See note 73 below.

[23] Van Egmond was first engaged by the Amsterdams Muzieklyceum in 1972 (Muller 1984, 248). According to his entry in New Grove (Forbes 2001), Van Egmond taught at the Muzieklyceum from 1972 to 1980, and the Sweelinck Conservatorium from 1980 to 1995. However, the 1980 date is incorrect, given that the Muzieklyceum and the Amsterdams Conservatorium had already formed the Sweelinck Conservatorium in 1976.

[24] As per Kooy's official website, http://www.peterkooij.de/ (Accessed August 8, 2005). Kooy, also a former Van Egmond student (Muller 1984, 114), was already listed in an advertisement for Hilversum's *Opleiding Oude Muziek* in the July-August 1990 issue of *Mens en Melodie* (vol. 45, no. 7: 456). It is possible, however, that he did not actually begin teaching until the following year. Kooy continued on in this position at the Conservatorium van Amsterdam, but left during the 1999-2000 school year.

from 2000 until 2002. That this position has not been replaced is all the more surprising, considering the overall size of the Conservatorium's voice department, which, with its important postgraduate programs in opera and lieder, and some sixty students enrolled,[25] is the third most populous Classical major behind piano and violin. Instruction in Early Music singing is currently provided by teachers in the Classical Department, particularly Maarten Koningsberger or Claron McFadden, both former Van Egmond students, or by guest teachers (Conservatorium van Amsterdam 2003, 2).

The combining of Early Music with Classical vocal instruction necessarily complicates drawing a distinction between these approaches. For instrumentalists, choosing an historical instrument or a reproduction clearly sets them apart from their "modern" counterparts in the Classical Department, though both may view the 18th century music as a common, if contested, ground. Early Music vocalists, of course, cannot change their equipment along with the repertoire, and as such they must rely on stylistic aspects, such as articulation, ornamentation or tone quality, to distinguish a musical genre, or themselves, from another. As McFadden (2004) noted, she tends to use a somewhat "straighter" tone when singing 18th-century music. By "straighter", she clarified, "there would be more notes that would be without vibrato. But not *all*." When singing Bach, she feels "more like an instrumentalist", while

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[25] This tentative estimate was given by Claron McFadden (2004), but it actually corresponds quite closely to the figures for 1999-00, and, as such, is probably fairly accurate. That year, 59 students were listed as Classical voice majors, with two additional students enrolled in Baroque singing (HBO-raad 2001, Vol. B, 43).

Mozart is "a little more legato." Still, "The basic technique is always the same," and her approach is to try to focus on the music's sense of line as much as possible.

Indeed, it is this "basic technique" which McFadden and Van Egmond both consider to be fundamental to a singer's education, regardless of their specialization. They referred to *technique*—in other words, singing in tune, controlling sound production, tone and vibrato, diction, breath control, etc.—as a separate entity from *style* and historical understanding, and it is this technical skill which they had in common with Classical singers in general.[26] Both McFadden, who did her undergraduate training at Eastman before coming to the Netherlands, and Van Egmond, noted that they had received a general vocal training, covering a variety of historical styles, and did not themselves specialize in Baroque singing early on.. As Van Egmond recalled,

> In those years [the 1950s], there was not much specialization yet in Early Music…But happily my teacher [Tine van Willigen[27]], she called the system "Old Italian School of Singing" which was in her case just healthy, natural use of the voice and a lot of attention to details like diction and colouring the voice and ornamentation and all that. So in fact, without necessarily specializing in Early Music singing, I did get the right training because it was sort of universal training that was adapted to many styles. And I'm very grateful for that, because I have always sung many styles. I would not want to give up Schubert songs or Fauré or whatever, and Benjamin Britten. But of course, I am mostly asked for Baroque music. (Van Egmond 2000)

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[26] What I and other musicians refer to here as "technique", Cottrell labels "musicianship", in other words, "the craft of being a musician; that collection of individual skills which are beyond social ascription and not dependent upon social agreement for their validation, notwithstanding that the possession of them and the manner in which they are employed may indeed provoke significant amounts of social commentary" (Cottrell 2003, 77).

[27] Van Willigen-de Lorne was an instructor at the Hilversumse Muzieklyceum and a good friend of the conductor and Bach specialist Anthon van der Horst (Muller 1984, 135-6).

Although Van Egmond had been a member of the Nederlandse Bachvereniging since the age of 18, beginning with their youth choir, he credits Wolf Erichson, producer of Telefunken's Bach cantata series and other period-instrument recordings, with launching his career as a Baroque specialist. Van Egmond described Erichson's positive reaction to a demo recording he had sent to him:

> And he, at that point, said, "Well, I listened to your tape, and it just so happens that this is *exactly* the kind of voice that I'm *desperately* looking for right now!" So I think they call that 'fill a gap in the market'. So I was at once asked to record under Gustav Leonhardt and others. And only *then* did I become aware of the necessity to study the sources and to learn about the authentic performance practice. Although the conductors (Leonhardt and Harnoncourt) said to me when I asked them, "What should I do? How should I sing?" They said, "Just sing the way you do because that's why we have chosen you; your way of singing is sort of naturally good for Early Music." With not a too big vibrato, and with not an enormous sound, which is much too big for Baroque instruments, or something like that. And with attention to text and diction, which is also important.

It was not, then, that Van Egmond sought to create a distinctly "Baroque" kind of singing. Rather, his type of voice was "selected for" by a record company producer and two authoritative Early Music conductors, Leonhardt and Harnoncourt, and it would become highly influential as the "Baroque" vocal style. Van Egmond was quick to qualify, however, that he soon turned to historical sources, such as Quantz and Tosi, to further his knowledge about Baroque performance practice and ornamentation; as he put it, it was "reassuring that they [Leonhardt and Harnoncourt] trusted me, but of course I wanted to not be a singer by intuition or by instinct, but I wanted to know." His reference to 18th-century treatises here is telling: his familiarity with source materials, not only the characteristics of his voice and his technical skill, are essential to establishing his credibility as an Early Music specialist.

Historical knowledge acts as an important form of symbolic or even cultural capital for Early Musicians—though not exclusively, and not at the expense of musical capital or skills.

McFadden, on the other hand, was reluctant to automatically ascribe authority to some musicological theories she had read or heard about Baroque singing technique, for example an attempt to determine a "throaty" sound production based on an analysis of 17th-century paintings, theories of pronunciation which conflicted with native speakers of the language, or approaches to vocal ornamentation developed on the basis of instrumental treatises instead of those written specifically for the voice. She related the problem of recreating a vocal style based only on written information to a modern-day example:

> If … someone was wanting to write a treatise about a pop concert, say Michael Jackson…you know those noises he makes? [ugh, ugh!] Suppose, you know, four hundred years from now or however many, three hundred years ago we had to recreate the sound that he made, purely based on what was written, how do you describe that hiccing noise that he makes—[ugh, ugh!] And how do you know if you've really got it right if you have no frame—*aural* frame of reference? Just on… I mean obviously, I'm not a musicologist because I'm sure…but that's how I see it. There's still this element of you don't really know because you're recreating something based on what's written. So then I think, it should just be … try and be as respectful as you can and based on the knowledge that you have, but in the end, none of us really knows exactly what – for vocal music – for instrumental music, I think it's a bit more specific…

Note her reluctance to label herself a musicologist or scholar. Her overall approach seemed to be one of pragmatism: an open-minded attitude to performance practice research, but a skepticism of theories which seemed overly doctrinaire, or that did not seem logical or comfortable in the context of her vocal technique.

The current trend towards the unification (or *re*unification) of singing pedagogy reflects not only a mistrust of some performance practice scholarship, but it also likely has much to do with the Early Music movement's push for greater professionalization in the 1980s. When I asked Van Egmond what kind of person tends to specialize in Early Music, he replied:

> …singers, for instance who have small but flexible voices, they might think "There's more of a market for me than in opera or Wagner or Verdi." And of course I have seen more than once—especially among singers—that they are just the *lesser quality* singers that just couldn't sing very well, and they would think, "Ah! I'm going to try Early Music!" and I hate that, of course, because I want them to be very good! Especially the technique, the—that they sing in tune, and that they sing exact and that they can do all the coloraturas and colouring and *messa di voce* and…with vibrato and without vibrato—all those things! So I want them to just be very good! And people ask me, "Is Baroque singing a very different technique?" And I say, "It's not a *different* technique, I think it's *more* technique!" And I'm sure it's the same for violin and even oboe because the oboe, it doesn't have all the keys! And the traverso doesn't have all the keys, so you have to do with your fingers what otherwise you can do with the keys, you know! Or with your embouchure.[28]

The unfortunate tendency for "lesser" singers to specialize in Early Music was also recounted by Claron McFadden:

> …before, it used to be Baroque singing was synonymous with *bad* singing or *no* voice. You didn't have a voice, so you sang Baroque and in a lot of cases, it was true because people didn't have—*I* think—like a really good technical basis, which I always—I put "*bel canto*" after that.

When I asked why this might have been the case, she replied:

> I don't know, maybe it's a combination of not very good singing lessons, or maybe singing teachers who didn't quite know how to deal with an instrument that wasn't made to sing Puccini and Verdi but [rather] early Mozart and Handel.

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[28] Indeed, my traverso teacher, Jed Wentz, constantly emphasized technique—particularly the development of embouchure flexibility in my lessons, and frequently made statements to the effect that playing the Baroque flute was far more technically demanding in this respect than the modern flute. See Chapter Four, p. 112.

The stereotype that Early Musicians—especially singers—are, in fact, less competent musicians or musicians who simply couldn't "make it" in the mainstream Classical conservatory system or marketplace is an enormous stigma on the historical performance world, even twenty to thirty years after it began to experience widespread commercial success. For this reason, concepts such as professionalism and technique continue to play such an important part in the Early Music Department's discourse.

Accordingly, the move to blur distinctions between general Classical and Early Music singing methodologies in Amsterdam seems wholly intentional. In part, as McFadden suggests, it gives singers a broader training, and avoids an enforced specialization at an early age, before their voices—and musical knowledge—have fully developed and matured. However, just as the historical performance movement has allowed singers with less conventionally operatic voice types to establish careers, it is also possible that more flexibility and interaction between Classical and Early Music training in recent years has likewise meant that a greater variety of vocal styles are now considered acceptable for 17th- and 18th-century music.[29] McFadden remarked that as an undergraduate voice student at Eastman, she felt that her instrument was not as well-suited for Puccini or other 19th-century repertoire as it was for "early stuff and modern stuff, and jazz." "The sort of agility and flexibility," she noted, "different colours…that was more obvious or easy in my expression."

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[29] This "cross-fertilization" has in recent years given rise to singers active in both the mainstream Classical and Early Music worlds, such as Cecilia Bartoli and Magdalena Kožená.

However, the unique characteristics of her voice which she felt made it most suited to Baroque music were not initially appreciated upon her arrival in the Netherlands:

> ...it was really horrible when I came here [in 1982] and everybody was kind of sounding like Emma Kirkby, which is *great*. But it was sort of like: if you were an Early Music singer, you sounded like her, and if you didn't sound like her, then you...weren't. So everybody was trying to sound like Emma Kirkby, and I was having trouble sounding like Emma. [laughs] So I was a little bit frustrated! I said, I guess I'm not an Early Music singer then!

What is remarkable is that the voice of Kirkby—who is English—was also adopted as the Early Music paradigm in the Netherlands.[30] Because McFadden's voice did not conform to Kirkby's sound, she found it difficult to break into the Dutch Early Music scene.

Ironically, it was only after a début concert at the Ijsbreker (arguably Amsterdam's most important new music venue) that she was able to get professional work, first as a contemporary music specialist:

> I didn't do any Baroque music for about...the first twelve years that I lived here. It was all contemporary. My first concert, that I did, when I was studying here was a modern piece and it happened to be in the Ijsbreker, and it happened to be broadcasted on the radio, so I even got money for it (which was great because I was broke!) and...everybody was there, or they heard it. All the big important people in contemporary music. And that's how it started. So in Holland I was doing only contemporary music and at the same time, I was doing Baroque music in England, where I'd met Robert King [of the King's Consort], and France, where I'd met Bill Christie [director of *Les Arts Florissants*]. So no one here knew that I was doing it [Early Music]...it was like I had a double life!

Although she had worked with such leading composers as Louis Andriessen and Brian Ferneyhough, McFadden's success in contemporary music circles proved to be a something of a liability in terms of her gaining acceptance as an Early Music singer. She was able to get adequate work as a new music specialist and did not have to actively pursue work with Early Music ensembles, but still, she remarks:

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[30] Indeed, it is indicative of the extent to which recordings and musicians circulate across borders, making it difficult to define a purely national style of Early Music performance.

> I noticed that, having done two or three contemporary concerts here, that was it. I was *skkkkkkkkkkkkkkkhrt*! [draws finger across her throat as if to cut it]. And so I wasn't asked! And I didn't kind of go [whimpers] "I can sing straight!" So I didn't worry too much about it. And it was only with this…at the [Nederlandse] Opera, they did *Poppea* and that people were saying, "Oh, I didn't know you could sing Early Music!" and I thought, well, yeah, I've been doing it for the last twelve years!

It was only later, then, after establishing success as a Baroque singer abroad, that McFadden began to be taken seriously as an Early Music specialist in the Netherlands—despite her period of study with Max van Egmond, one of the leading figures in the Dutch Early Music movement. In this case, her international reputation and success with English and French period-instrument ensembles carried more prestige or cultural capital in the Netherlands than her pedagogical lineage; her work with living composers actually seems to have negated her credentials as a Baroque singer.

Like the voice, the recorder is another subject which has tended to bridge both the Early Music and Classical departments. On the one hand, the recorder is listed as part of the Early Music Department's catalogue; most recorder or Blokfluit Blok students[31] in the Bachelor program opt to take harpsichord instead of piano as their required keyboard instrument; and many enroll in the Department's courses and special projects. On the other, however, the Block itself tends to remain independent; it is the "special little kingdom within the kingdom", as Max van Egmond described it above. This was confirmed by recorder instructor Walter van Hauwe, who is also section coordinator of the woodwind department at the Conservatorium. When he took over Frans Brüggen's teaching studio in Amsterdam in 1971, Van Hauwe deliberately sought to distance himself from the Early Music performers as a group:

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[31] See Chapter Seven, p. 356. Students in the Blok tend to refer to the recorder as the "blockflute" (an Anglicization of the Dutch word for recorder, *blokfluit*) in order to distinguish the instrument from the tape recorder. The word "block" is thus a pun on the term's double meaning, referring to both a block of time and the instrument's mouthpiece.

> I decided rather than starting also an Early Music department, as in The Hague, where I studied before, I said, at least, for the recorder, I couldn't afford it. I had to be sure that the level of students should cope with the general standards of all the other wind instruments, as clarinet and so on. And since I don't like to be in a sort of "section", I said [I] want to be absolutely independent. (Van Hauwe 2004)

In this regard, the recorder and voice programs have much in common, in that teachers in both areas have explicitly expressed a desire to raise the technical level of playing by blurring the boundaries between Early Music, Classical music, new music and even jazz.

Unlike the voice, however, the recorder's interrupted playing tradition means that its repertoire spans the categories of pre-1800 and contemporary music, while bypassing Romantic music almost entirely.[32] This has meant the recorder program has had to develop some alternative pedagogical strategies from the Classical Department. Most Classical instrumentalists, for example, gain ensemble experience in the Conservatorium van Amsterdam's orchestra. Recorder players, however, because they have no place in a 19th-century symphony, instead audition to play with the Royal Wind Music, a renaissance recorder consort of twelve instruments directed by Paul Leenhouts. On occasion, some have also been selected to perform with the Sweelinck Barokorkest (the Early Music Department's Baroque orchestra) in such repertoire as Lully, Purcell or Handel suites.

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[32] David Lasocki (2001) notes a scoring for recorder in two works by Carl Maria von Weber and a possible appearance in Hector Berlioz's *L'enfance du Christ*, but concludes that "Use of the recorder was rare between 1750 and the 20th-century revival."

What is particularly striking, however, is that relatively little emphasis is placed within the recorder Block on the High Baroque repertoire, for example the sonatas of Handel, Telemann and Corelli which Dutch recorder virtuoso Frans Brüggen had made famous through his recordings. As one recorder student put it,

> When I came to Amsterdam, yeah, I was a little afraid that there would be this moral pressure to play contemporary music. But I cannot deny that the teachers have a strong—no, they have a strong preference for contemporary music, for Medieval and Renaissance music, and a sort of extreme criticism of Baroque music. But still, I played a lot of Baroque music.

He clarified, however, that this was not to say that his teachers, Walter van Hauwe and Paul Leenhouts, disliked Baroque music per se. The "extreme criticism" was applied to the students who chose to play this music in their lessons, but it was also a statement about the quality of the 18th-century music written for recorder, compared with that written for other instruments in this period:

> ...they're just fed up with hearing the same Handel sonata for the—200 times. I mean, when I play Baroque repertoire, I tend to look for the not-so-much-played stuff. I think that's the difference. I think that's what we should—they are not fed....they're actually not at all fed up with Baroque repertoire. They are fed up with the typical Baroque recorder solo sonata, which is imaginable. The Telemanns, the Handels, the Vivaldi concertos with always the same crack in bar 32. That's just how it goes when you have this bit of Baroque quality repertoire, and for Paul Leenhouts, he went away to contemporary music, [and] to Renaissance music.

This was corroborated by Van Hauwe:

> …there's so much more interesting literature in contemporary music. Original, written for the recorder than in the Baroque period. That's why the Baroque recorder players, they *steal* like mad. There's hardly original music which is good enough to spend forty years of musical life with. A bit of Telemann, a bit of Vivaldi, some lost pieces here and there, and that's it.

Overplaying had thus led to a certain sense of Baroque music burnout among Dutch professional recorder players. As a student put it,

> If you play 30 years of not-so-challenging repertoire, then, yeah, you don't want to hear it so much anymore. That's why Frans Brüggen started conducting.[33] And I think for me, this, for Frans Brüggen it came when he was thirty-five but for me it came when I got more professional.

Becoming more "professional", for him, entailed not only entry into the conservatory and improving his technique, but it also coincided with repertoire fatigue and a broadening of his musical interests beyond the Baroque into new music.

Indeed, in the Block, the discourse about professionalism becomes closely intertwined with the contemporary music world. As the recorder student above recalled, upon entering the Conservatorium, he feared there would be a certain "moral pressure" to play new music. This "moral pressure" indicates that playing 20th or 21st-century pieces, working with composers and writing new works are the most highly valued types of activity in recorder playing circles; "stealing" repertoire, as Van Hauwe put it above (i.e., transcribing music written originally for other instruments), is discouraged.[34] Specializing in contemporary music allows recorder players to acquire more musical capital, both amongst themselves, but also, they believe, among other instrumentalists.

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[33] Brüggen corroborates this account in an interview with Jolande van der Klis (1991, 171). He states: "*Ik heb die oude muziekwereld nooit vervelend gevonden, omdat ik nog steeds verliefd ben op het instrument. Nog steeds wil ik vreselijk graag blokfluit spleen, maar de literatuur is, met uitzondering van zeg twintig stukken, zo vreselijk onbenullig*" (I have never found that Early Music world tiresome, because I am still in love with the instrument. I still want to play the recorder terribly badly, but the literature is, with the exception of say twenty pieces, so dreadfully dull). He goes on to note that one could, like Walter van Hauwe has done, concentrate on the 20th-century repertoire, but that he has shifted his own attention to the Orchestra of the 18th Century since the 1980s.

It is this attitude towards contemporary music which was engendered by the pioneers of the Dutch recorder school, and which has also shaped their attitude towards historical recorder repertoire. Indeed, as Van Hauwe put it, "I never saw Baroque music as 'Early Music', more as the contemporary music from that time." The commissioning of new music, then, took on a moral imperative in part because it helps to ensure the survival of the recorder beyond the Early Music movement itself. As a recorder student noted,

> Ten years after Frans Brüggen got famous, he got Berio and the whole composers' world to write recorder music. So from the recorder point of view, it has always been an integral element because the founding fathers were convinced that this instrument couldn't survive if the trend of Early Music was over. I mean, there was no suspicion at all that the Early Music movement would still exist in 2040. I think now, we can say that it probably [will] still exists…from the recorder point of view, they looked for all means to…[ensure] that this instrument [should] become an emancipated, professional instrument.

A professional instrument, he elaborated, is one that has "authentic music", repertoire written originally for it (i.e., not transcriptions or transpositions of Baroque or other repertoire written for other instruments). In this regard, "basically the authentic approach to Early Music is being applied to contemporary music as well." Authenticity, here, does not simply refer to the desire to respect the composer's wishes—though of course, the rejection of the transcription is part of that—or to the goal of recreating the conditions surrounding the original performances of the work. Making the instrument "professional" means commissioning new, "authentic" music written for the recorder itself. This both puts it on par with other instruments, but also distances it—"emancipates" it—from its roots: Baroque music, and the *huismuziek* or amateur music movement which appropriated it in the early part of the 20th century.[35] Thus, the fact that composers such as Louis Andriessen (1972 [1964]) and Luciano Berio (1970 [1966]) took an interest in the recorder was essential to the development of a new school of recorder playing. As Michael, another recorder player, noted, 1966—the year Berio's piece was composed—was "Year zero for recorder. [Berio's *Gesti*] was the very first piece which demanded a total different understanding of what the instrument is about."

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[34] I attended a lecture on Bach and the recorder by Van Hauwe in 2000. He was also quite critical then about recorder players who transcribe Bach's violin or flute sonatas, suggesting that it was extraordinarily difficult to match the expressive effect of the original.

Many recorder players at the Conservatorium, then, come to view the High Baroque period as too limiting for their instrument. While recorder students are hardly prohibited from playing 17th- or 18th-century music, they are actively encouraged to investigate other musical genres, such as Medieval music, but most especially contemporary music. As one student put it,

> It is true that I did more contemporary music [in Amsterdam] than I would have done in The Hague because the infrastructure is here. So the whole thing invites to do that. They are *so*—the Classical Department is I believe one of the best departments in Europe (because I don't know more [i.e., he does not have first-hand knowledge of programs abroad]) in contemporary music.

Thus, if the frequency of its performance on student concerts and final exams can be taken as a measure, contemporary music seems to carry more clout within the Block than Baroque music. The social pressure to perform new music is not overt, but comes more from the examples set by their teachers and by their peers. Walter van Hauwe noted that, three or four times a year, he asks his students to seek out pieces which he has never heard of to perform in lessons.[36] He also strongly encourages his students to take the CvA's Contemporary Music Through Non-Western Techniques course, which he feels helps to codify the rules of western music, and is also "essential" for the development of rhythm and timing. This class, which has several different skill levels, is taught by composer Rafaël Reina and is especially popular with jazz musicians and composers as well as recorder players. There, students study the Karnatic tala and raga (with an emphasis on microtonality), and apply them in newly-developed compositions or improvisations. Indeed, the recorder's open-holed fingering system makes it especially suited to the playing of microtones. More importantly, however, this class serves to unify the recorder with "modern" instruments in the Classical and jazz departments. By achieving such a close association with contemporary music, recorder students realize their goal of transcending the limited historical repertoire of their instrument.

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[35] See Chapter Five, pp. 183, 188 and 203.

One particular area of contemporary music which has aroused considerable interest among the younger generation of recorder students is live electronics. Michael, a former CvA student, has been working in this field for the past three years. As he put it,

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[36] This is no mean feat, considering the website for his Stichting Blokfluit (Recorder Foundation), www.blokfluit.nl (Accessed 8 August, 2005), includes probably the most complete bibliography of recorder repertoire available. The database of contemporary recorder music contains more than 4,800 entries.

> What I've been doing a lot is working with live electronics, multimedia, and other disciplines: dance, video, I like that very much. I find it really fascinating to work with another art forms. I also still play Early Music, but if I am *asked* to play Early Music.

In particular, he has been working with interactive sensor systems and wireless technology, connecting music, dance choreography, light, sound and images with performance on a stage. Newer, wireless systems help him to achieve the goal of "clean stages" by hiding the electronic equipment off-stage so it does not interfere with the experience of the performance. By becoming a "multimedia artist" and not just another recorder player, he hopes to achieve yet another conception of the instrument's role in contemporary music.

Voice and recorder students are not the only musicians associated with the Early Music Department who are also involved with new music, though as a group they are probably the most active. All first- and second-year harpsichordists in the Bachelors program, for example, are required to take a two-year course in contemporary technique and repertoire. Indeed, since the 20th-century revival of the instrument,[37] composers such as Martinů, Poulenc, Ligeti, Xenakis and Andriessen have written important harpsichord pieces, and together they constitute a sizeable body of work. According to Annelie de Man (2004), the course's instructor, Amsterdam is the only conservatory in the world to offer both a principal subject in contemporary harpsichord and a mandatory course for all undergraduate harpsichord majors. Despite its limited dynamic range, De Man remarked that the "special assets" of the harpsichord for composers include its ability to perform extremely exact rhythms and repeated rhythmic patterns (particularly useful for minimalist pieces), and its tuning possibilities, which can be easily and rapidly modified by the performer (such as quarter tones, microtones and multiple temperaments). She also noted that the pure tone of the harpsichord is especially well-suited to being paired with live electronics, with its rich variety of different sounds: this gives an interesting timbral contrast.

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[37] There is, of course, not one "contemporary harpsichord": some works can be played on historical copies, while others are written for pedal harpsichord. The use of pedal or hand registration affects the compositional technique; as Annelie de Man (2004) explained, most 20th-century pedal harpsichord works were written by French composers and may require some readjusting in order to be played on historical instruments.

Other students in the Early Music Department have performed contemporary music on occasion as well. One June during my studies, I attended the final Second Phase exam of a Baroque violinist who performed a piece with tape. There have also been several viola da gamba students who have performed contemporary works on student concerts or exams, sometimes in collaboration with recorder players.[38] Like the harpsichord and recorder, the gamba has also acquired a significant repertoire of 20th-century music; its movable frets (which can accommodate unequal tuning systems), ability to play multiple stops and unique sonority have made it particularly attractive to composers.

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[38] There have been a number of recorder players who also study viola da gamba as a second subject; this accounts for some (but not all) of the gamba's crossover into contemporary music at the CvA.

Defining the Early Music Department, Part II: Early Music "Hardware"

If the Early Music Department's boundaries might be somewhat porous in terms of its membership and repertoire, one more concrete means by which Early Musicians—the instrumentalists, at least—can clearly be differentiated from other Conservatorium students is by their choice to use an historical instrument or copy. While Classical students may participate in the Early Music Department's projects and events, for example, only the program's true "insiders" play on *period* instruments; differences in pitch, timbre, volume, articulation and sound quality make it nearly impossible for Early Music and Classical music students to perform together in the same ensembles. As such, period instruments are essential to the Department's cohesiveness as a community.

Moreover, among the Early Music students and teachers themselves, the decision to use a particular violin, oboe or recorder over another is not at all trivial. In this regard, the function of instruments within the group is complex, and goes beyond the physical make-up or the historical development of the instruments per se, to reveal much about the social organization of the musicians themselves. As Dawe has observed,

> Musical instruments are formed, structured, and carved out of personal and social experience as much as they are built up from a great variety of natural and synthetic materials. They exist at an intersection of material, social, and cultural worlds where they are as much constructed and fashioned by the force of minds, cultures, societies, and histories as axes, saws, drills, chisels, machines, and the ecology of wood....At another level, as socially constructed and meaningful, the morphology of musical instruments reveals through their shape, decoration, and iconography features of the body politic, as

> embodiments of the values, politics, and aesthetics of the community of musicians that they serve. They are at once physical and metaphorical, social constructions and material objects. (Dawe 2003, 275-6)

Thus, period instruments are fraught with meaning for Early Musicians: they play a role in the community's identity formation, but their importance to the historical performance movement also goes far beyond this. Through their selection of a particular kind of instrument, Early Musicians may make a value judgement about its relative suitability for particular repertoire. An instrument may also reflect a musician's class status: for example, by playing a very expensive, original 18th-century violin, an orchestra's leader may set him- or herself apart from the other violinists in the section. In this way, the possession of multiple instruments for the playing of different styles, periods or pitches is not just an attempt at historical "accuracy", but it is a form of conspicuous consumption, and as such is emblematic of a musician's status and usefulness—an oboist who can afford to own instruments that play at the less-commonly used pitches (such as A-400Hz or A-435Hz) can demonstrate that he or she is actively sought-after as a performer. The use of a particular instrument could also demonstrate a musician's technical skills, for example if a Baroque trumpeter plays an instrument without vent holes instead of a "modernized" version that allows difficult notes to speak more consistently;[39] or their historical knowledge, if they assert that one instrument, one bow, or one playing technique is more historically "appropriate" than another. In short, musicians use their instruments not just as tools of the trade, but as a means of distinction, to distinguish themselves from one another.

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[39] These vent holes were first added in 1960 for additional ease in playing, and make the modern Baroque trumpet distinct from the "natural" trumpets in use in the 18th century (Tarr 2001). It is this vented Baroque trumpet which is taught at the Conservatorium van Amsterdam (Immer 2004).

Over the past fifty years, the practice of restoring and copying historical instruments has evolved as more extensive organological research and new preservation techniques have come to light. An increased interest in the accurate copying of instruments went hand-in-hand with growing concerns about textual fidelity (*Werktreue*) and authenticity in performance. Moreover, the appearance of detailed studies linking instrument makers to particular geographic areas, time periods and performance practices have made it possible to more closely associate an instrument with composers and their circle.[40] As a result, new information about historical practices has led to changing fashions in period instrument construction. While the earliest "modern" harpsichords from the first decades of the 20th century scarcely resembled historical copies with their metal frames and pedals,[41] it was not until the mid-1960s that copies of 18th-century harpsichords, and a concomitant attention to Baroque fingerings and playing techniques, were used by professional ensembles (Fabian 2003, 56-57, 68). The so-called "Bach bow", a curved violin bow developed by Albert Schweitzer in 1905, is another notorious attempt at historical reconstruction which enjoyed a brief popularity (Haskell 1996, 69, 88). These examples represent the changing fads in instrument building and construction over the years, as one design or model, or one particular maker, is favoured by a prominent scholar or performer.

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[40] See Powell and Lasocki (1995) for an example of this type of research, as it pertains to the kinds of instruments used by the flutists associated with J.S. Bach.

[41] E.g., Wanda Landowska's famous Pleyels and the so-called "Bach harpsichord" manufactured by the German maker Hirl. See Haskell 1996, 54.

Ironically, the accurate copying of antique instruments—an act which, in and of itself, represents the rejection of modernity and technological innovation in instrument construction—would not even be possible without the hi-tech devices that allow more precise drawings, models and reproductions to be made.[42] For example, the surviving Flemish harpsichords of the Ruckers family, some of the most prized and widely-copied keyboard instruments, have been highly scrutinized. The Vleeshuis Museum in Antwerp, which has an important collection of these harpsichords, displays X-rays and blueprint-like diagrams next to them, showing how the instruments were constructed. Wind instruments in European and North American collections, too, have faced similarly meticulous inspections. One prominent Dutch maker of historical woodwinds with whom I spoke is a former Philips employee. When I visited his workshop, which is located in a renovated barn of an early 18th-century farmhouse, he proudly demonstrated the sophisticated electronic equipment he used to measure reamers for his instruments, tone hole dimensions, and other parameters, in order to ensure the most precise copies possible.[43] The field of period instrument reproduction, then, is a complex process, and a curious nexus of historical interpretation and technological innovation.

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[42] It is this very irony which I point out later with regard to Early Music ensembles and their embracement of the Compact Disc (see Chapter Six, p.233, 305).

[43] He has, however, had to alter the original pitches of the two most popular instruments he copies in order to make them playable at A-415 and A-392. See note 63 below.

In addition to the problematic area of instrument reproduction, the very institutionalization of Early Music instruction within a conservatory likewise places certain constraints on instrument use and ownership. In particular, it has sometimes entailed a certain uniformity of practice within the Department in terms of instruments and instrument construction, pitch, and tuning. I observed, for example, a strong tendency of students and teachers within one studio—particularly wind players—to play instruments of the same model and maker. In some respects, there are very logical reasons for doing so: for certain instruments, there are relatively few makers of professional-quality historical copies, and it is also easier for a teacher to identify and correct technical problems on an instrument he or she knows intimately from first-hand experience. At the same time, however, this inclination to standardize instruments can lead to a certain homogenization of sound, one which tends to be exacerbated by commercial concerns. The championing of a particular instrument maker by a celebrity musician—especially one with an active teaching studio—tends to increase sales.[44] Some teachers have also been associated not only with one brand or model of instrument, but also with a certain *method* of using this instrument, or a performance practice, such as the use of a particular reed or embouchure setup, fingering system, or positioning (e.g., chin-on vs. chin-off violin playing).[45] Again, there are strong practical reasons for teachers to shape their pupils along similar methodologies and playing philosophies, and in some cases the imparting of this knowledge may not always be conscious. Still, conflicts sometimes arise when students change from one teaching studio to another and are forced to confront a radically different playing method.[46]

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[44] The above-mentioned wind instrument maker (the former Philips employee), who was relatively new on the market, established his business by making the rounds of the Early Music Departments in the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany and inviting teachers and their pupils to try his instruments and give him feedback on their tone quality and intonation; he also toured the festival circuit, and had several prominent North American flutists visit his workshop. He then had several students assist with playing in instruments and in making tuning adjustments. The results were enormously successful, resulting in a huge increase in the number of instruments sold.

[45] See note 16 above.

At times, the standardization of instruments and playing styles has meant that a compromise from 18th-century historical practice is necessary, largely for pragmatic reasons. The Early Music Department's keyboard instruments are a notable case in point. The Conservatorium owns about a dozen harpsichords[47] which reflect the changing fashions in harpsichord building over the past twenty or thirty years, and the different tastes of the CvA harpsichord faculty. Most of these instruments were manufactured by three of the Netherlands' most prominent harpsichord builders: Johannes Klinkhamer, Bruce Kennedy[48] and Henk Klop. The Klinkamer and Kennedy instruments in particular tend to be quite dissimilar, and have a completely different touché, response, action and finger stretch.

While the Conservatorium owns a representative selection of harpsichords in terms of styles and manufacturers, not all of these instruments are equal in status and popularity. One of the Department's oldest keyboards is a harpsichord by Jiskoot, probably built in the late 1960s.[49] Most harpsichordist students now consider it to be one of the least desirable instruments, and it is always the last one booked for practice or rehearsals; its lowly status was also confirmed by the fact that it is relegated to a classroom on the second floor, far away from the cluster of rooms typically used by the Early Music Department. The Kennedy Mietke copy, however, holds an especially privileged position above all the other harpsichords. It is probably the Department's most expensive instrument, and the fact that it is housed in the Early Music Department's main concert hall, the Andriessenzaal, where it is used for most of the harpsichord lessons, exams and concerts, underscores its importance.[50] It also has a double pedigree which sets it apart from other instruments. Firstly, Michael Mietke, the early 18th-century builder of the original harpsichord which is now so frequently copied, supplied instruments to the courts of Berlin and Köthen, the latter on the recommendation of J.S. Bach (Krickeberg 2001). Secondly, Bruce Kennedy's instruments have been linked with Gustav Leonhardt and Bob van Asperen, both of whom have made multiple recordings using his harpsichords.[51] This double association with Bach (*the* Baroque composer *par excellence*, especially in the Netherlands[52]) and Leonhardt (the superstar of the Dutch school of harpsichord playing) accounts for this instrument's special status. Music is often performed on this harpsichord during concerts and exams even if it might be better suited—in terms of matching a composition to its historical context—to the Department's other instruments, such as French, German or Flemish models.[53] However, it is impractical, for tuning, moving and space reasons, to use more than two instruments in a concert, and the two Kennedy instruments (the Mietke and the Italian, which is used for 17th-century music), are already housed in 001.[54] Harpsichordists also need time to adjust their technique to a different keyboard, making it unreasonable for them to switch instruments rapidly.

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[46] One oboist, who was studying with two teachers simultaneously, told me that she prepared separate reeds for use in lessons with each teacher. While a situation such as this may ultimately make musicians more adaptable and flexible, it did engender a lot of stress at examination time, when students were forced to choose one method or performance version to present to their committee.

[47] As of 2003, these were usually housed in the following classrooms and concert halls: K18, K19, the Sweelinckzaal, the Bachzaal, the Andriessenzaal or 001 (3 instruments), 101 (the Jan Odézaal), 019, 021, 210 and 243. There were also three spinets, two clavichords and a portative organ available for student use. Since 2004, the instruments in 019 and 021 have now been moved to rooms 125 and 126, respectively.

[48] While Kennedy's workshop is currently in Tuscany, it was located in Amsterdam from 1990 to 2002 (see his website, http://www.kennedyharpsichords.com/kennedy.html , accessed 22 August 2005).

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[49] Thérèse de Goede-Klinkhamer noted this was one of the newest instruments at the Conservatorium when she began her studies there in 1970, and was considered the "best instrument there at that time" (personal communication).

[50] Although the Klinkhamer instrument in the Bachzaal could be said to be in a more prestigious concert hall, its function is exclusively as a *continuo* accompaniment instrument; unlike the Mietke, it is never used for solo harpsichord recitals.

[51] See http://www.kennedyharpsichords.com/discography1.html for a discography.

[52] See Chapter Five.

The Conservatorium's fortepianists may fare somewhat better in terms of their ability to experiment with different kinds of instruments. The Sweelinck Collectie, located on the third floor, houses an impressive collection of original pianos compiled and restored by the late Rien Hasselaar, and currently maintained by his assistant Gwen Savalli. This unique resource allows students to perform on instruments from the late 18th century up to the mid-19th century, which makes it possible for fortepianists to closely match a piano with the repertoire they are playing. The Walter copy is the most frequently used instrument, since the music of C.P.E. Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and their contemporaries is the most often performed, especially by ensembles. Still, it is not uncommon to hear a fortepianist employ three or four different instruments in an exam.[55]

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[53] Of course, the issue of linking instruments to music is an extremely complex and controversial one, particularly for printed works. A keyboard piece might have been composed in France in the early 18th century on a 17th-century Flemish harpsichord, for instance, but might have circulated through publication to Germany, and thus might have been performed on a very different instrument from that on which it was conceived. Still, for music which survives in manuscript form, and/or music which was intended for a small circle of performers close to the composer, the association with a particular instrument (or type of instrument) is less problematic.

[54] On occasion, instruments such as the Klinkhamer in 021 and one of the fortepianos will be moved into 001 for concerts, but this is not common because of the hassle involved and the risk of damage.

Another issue pertaining to keyboard instruments which has required some concessions to pragmatism is that of tuning and temperament. Several of the Conservatorium's harpsichords are transposing, particularly those used to accompany modern instruments, or for contemporary music. The harpsichord in Room 210, for example, which is used by Annelie de Man for contemporary music and for both period-instrument and modern-instrument chamber ensembles, is generally tuned in equal temperament for convenience' sake.[56] There is also a Graebner copy by Rueck in Room 001 which is kept at 440; this instrument is used by modern-instrument ensembles. The Kennedy Italian is kept in a meantone temperament, and its split keys allow for tuning distinctions between enharmonic notes (i.e., B flat is tuned slightly higher than A sharp). However, most of the others are tuned at A-415Hz, i.e., a semi-tone below modern pitch, using the Werckmeister III temperament.[57]

The use of A-415 has been the common practice for the modern Baroque revival for more than thirty years, though its exact origins are unclear; its first documented use at the Royal Conservatory in The Hague is in 1969.[58] It is likely, however, that this tuning was already in regular use several years earlier by such period instrument ensembles as Concentus Musicus Wien, Collegium Aureum and August Wenzinger's Ensemble Schola Cantorum Basliensis.[59] A-415 was thought to be an approximation of the German 18th-century *Cammerton* (chamber pitch) and thus appropriate for the High Baroque repertoire. It was also convenient for transposing harpsichords, which, by sliding the keyboard over one key length, allow the performer to switch easily between A-440 and A-415. Eventually, as period instrument ensembles ventured into the French Baroque repertoire in the 1970s, the pitch of A-392 was adopted for this music[60] (again, this is a convenient half-step below A-415, making it possible to construct a triple transposing harpsichord). By the early 1980s, A-430 was in common use for recordings of the music of Mozart, Haydn and other Classical composers.

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[55] The museum is unfortunately limited in terms of its seating capacity, making it difficult to accommodate an orchestra (for concerto accompaniment) or a large audience.

[56] Transposing a "well" but unequal tempered keyboard (using a transposition lever to slide the keys up or down one semitone), necessarily moves the wider thirds and narrower fifths to less desirable intervals in the other pitch level, making more frequently-used keys sound less pleasant.

[57] Based on personal communication with the CvA's tuning technicians, harpsichord students, and Thérèse de Goede-Klinkhamer, who is in charge of maintaining the Department's instruments.

[58] See Chapter Seven, p.354. Elste (2000,34) credits August Wenzinger with the first use of A-415 on a 1940 recording.

In any case, recordings by such leading pioneers as Wenzinger, Leonhardt and Harnoncourt served as an endorsement of A-415 as a plausible High Baroque pitch, and it has been closely linked with the Early Music movement ever since. It is now the standard pitch for many institutions, Baroque orchestras and summer workshops, and there is also an aptly-named Ensemble 415, an instrumental group based in Switzerland. Among Conservatorium students, it is even a running joke that the dial tone for Dutch telephones is purposely set to A-415 because of the Netherlands' close association with the Baroque revival.[61] These examples indicate just how fundamental A-415 is to the movement's identity. Modern instrumentalists, for example, could be excluded from an ensemble if they would not tune down their strings or if they did not play on A-415 wind instruments.

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[59] Fabian documents early Bach recordings on period instruments by these ensembles, though unfortunately her data does not include information about performance pitch. Among her examples are a 1953 recording by Wenzinger of the *Brandenburg Concerti*, which "used authentic instruments or copies, [and] lowered pitch (by minor second)" (Fabian 2003, 283); a 1964 recording of the same work by Harnoncourt and Concentus Musicus Wien (286) and a 1965 recording by Collegium Aureum (286-7); a 1966 recording by Harnoncourt of the *St. John Passion* (277); a 1968 Harnoncourt recording of the Mass in B Minor (297) and a 1971 Harnoncourt recording of the *St. Matthew Passion* (281-2). It seems likely that all of the above period instrument recordings were made at approximately A-415, though I was unable to verify this by examining copies myself.

[60] The first uses of "French Baroque pitch" in recordings has not been documented, though Brüggen et al. 1977 might be an early example; there are also a number of recordings by Quadro Hotteterre from this time period as well.

Indeed, the use of A-415 as a modern Baroque tuning standard is now ubiquitous, though a comprehensive study by Bruce Haynes suggests that a far greater range of pitches were actually used in Western Europe during the 18th century.[62] One frequent concern raised by musicians and critics is that modern manufacturers of historical wind instruments have often had to adjust the scales of the historical instruments they copy—many of which play best at ca. A-408 to 410—to make them playable at A-415.[63] The result may be a copy which bears little relation to the original, with a considerable distortion of sound or intonation. Haynes thus confronts the musicians of the Early Music movement by raising one of its sacred tenets:

> Thus history itself throws down an uncomfortable challenge to the historically oriented performance movement. *If we are interested in original sonorities, if we want our instruments to act and feel as they did when they were first played and our voices to function as they did for the composers who conceived their parts* [emphasis mine], it seems we have no choice but to renounce the luxury of a single hard-earned pitch standard. As in so many

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[61] This is undoubtedly a coincidence, but I can confirm that this is, in fact, the actual dial tone pitch.

[62] Among the other pitches in common use from 1700 to 1730 include A-392 (France and Germany), A-403 (France, England, Holland and Belgium), A-440 (Italy) and A-464 (France and Germany), which results in a far more nuanced picture of tuning standards throughout Europe (Haynes 2002, liii).

[63] The traverso and the oboe have an advantage over other winds in that most originals from after ca. 1720 have a set of *corps de rechange*, or second joints which can be interchanged to adjust the tuning; some flute models also have a foot register and screw cap for fine adjustments. If one of these corresponds closely to A-415, the copier's job is made easier. However, usually the instrument has a most satisfactory scale with one particular joint (and this joint generally shows the most wear).

> other issues of historical performance, when the outer layer of this onion is peeled away, it becomes evident that there is more beyond A-415, waiting to be revealed. (Haynes 2002, xxi)

Though much of Haynes's research has been accessible for some time in other publications, and most professional Early Musicians are probably aware of it, it has, as of yet, made little dent in the A-415 hegemony, which has become so entrenched—for practical reasons—in the Early Music movement's institutions such as orchestras and conservatories. Most Conservatorium students cannot afford to own a multitude of instruments to cover the wide range of pitches in use in 18th-century Europe, and in my experience, there were few opportunities for ensemble playing at other pitches. String players are also uncomfortable with having to change tunings, which places considerable strain on their instruments; most violinists have to make do with one or two violins and at least two bows (Baroque and Classical) due to the high costs of purchasing separate equipment for each pitch level. The Conservatorium, moreover, owns only one harpsichord which can transpose down to A-392. This instrument was only rarely used because so few Conservatorium students had low-pitched instruments or 392 joints, and the instrument (located in K19, in the basement) was not readily accessible for use in a concert or exam. As a result, orchestral projects focusing on Lully and Rameau were conducted at A-415 rather than a lower "French Baroque" pitch.

Indeed, it is orchestral playing, in particular, which tends to reinforce the common tuning standard because of the need to recruit enough players with similarly-pitched instruments. In this respect, A-415 is used at the Conservatorium because it can be guaranteed that all the Department's wind and brass players will have instruments at this pitch. On occasion, there have been a few orchestral projects which have been performed at A-430, such as a Mozart and C.P.E. Bach keyboard concerto concert in April 2003, but such transitional repertoire and tuning standards raise still more problems for performs, particularly for players of winds, who are challenged by the need to further expand their collection of appropriately historical instruments.[64]

Still, most Early Musicians realize that the pitch situation within the Early Music Department (and indeed, much of the professional world) is far from the ideal of historical accuracy. I once commented to a Baroque oboe student, for example, that I soon hoped to purchase a lower-pitched traverso, because ideally I would like to have three instruments for the most commonly used pitches (392, 415 and 430). She replied, laughing, "Well, *ideally* we would have *ten*!" While most Early Musicians, then, realize that the three commonly-used pitches are a gross oversimplification of the 18th-century reality, the constraints of performing within institutions like conservatories or orchestras, and the need for traveling freelance musicians to agree upon a standard, tend to reinforce the persistence of certain half-truths such as the A-415 myth. There is thus a certain suspension of historical verisimilitude for the sake of convenience, consistent playing standards, and even to forge a sense of community within the Department.

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[64] In this regard, they must choose whether or not to use an instrument with more than one key, which has a dramatic effect on the timbre and tone quality. Since keyed winds were not uniformly adopted over one geographic area or time period, instrument choice for late Classical and early Romantic works can be a real dilemma. In this case, it is not *the instrument* played which is important (since both multi-keyed and one-keyed winds are equally *historical* from some perspective) but rather *the context* in which they are used.

Aside from the pitch standard of A-415, the use of the Werckmeister temperament on most of the Conservatorium's keyboard instruments presents a different, but equally thorny, tuning issue from an historical standpoint. Like the anti-A-440 stance, another long-held doctrine of the Early Music movement has been a rejection of equal temperament as a viable tuning system for Baroque music. Harnoncourt's essay, "Tone Systems and Intonation", is a particular case in point:

> We in the modern West have trained our hearing mostly on the equal temperament of the piano.... Unfortunately, our ears are trained in and oriented to this system. With this system in our ears, when we listen to music that is intoned—no matter how perfectly—according to a different system, we have the impression that the music is being played out of tune. But the intonation system at the time of Monteverdi, i.e. the 17th Century, for example, was just such a different system! When we hear today music produced in perfect accordance with that system, we believe that everything is wrong, out of tune, excruciating to listen to. But if we were to turn this around and listen to today's intonation with that system in our ears, we would find it just as wrong. This shows that there is no such thing as objective and absolute truth as far as intonation is concerned. (Harnoncourt 1988, 60-61)

He further remarks in "Old Instruments: Yes or No?" that:

> When all is said and done, we must acknowledge, here too, that every type of music demands its own system of intonation and that the various pure-third and unequal temperaments of the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries are at least as important for the rendition of old music as the by no means *well*-tempered equal temperament. (76-77)[65]

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[65] Emphasis in original. Harnoncourt was well-known to Dutch musicians and audiences, and his influence in the Netherlands was very important. As noted in Chapter Seven (p.353-54), Harnoncourt directed several projects at the Royal Conservatorium in The Hague; he also guest-conducted with the Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra, worked with period-instrument players, and toured with his own ensemble.

In the past thirty years, much performance practice research has been devoted to the rediscovery of historical temperaments discussed in 17th- and 18th-century treatises. Indeed, tuning a keyboard instrument in Werckmeister is said to be tuning it "*well*-tempered", in other words, it is an irregular temperament which allows one to play in a variety of keys; there are no wolf fifths or "Pythagorean" thirds, but each key, because of the slightly different placement of wider thirds, has a distinct colouring.[66]

The favouring of the Werckmeister III temperament in the Conservatorium over other possibilities is remarkable, however. This tuning system is one of several outlined in Andreas Werckmeister's *Musicalische Temperatur* of 1691. Although already familiar to Dutch musicians in the 1970s, a facsimile reprint of Werckmeister's treatise (1983), which was published in Utrecht, made this work more widely known and accessible in the Netherlands.[67] According to Rudolf Rasch, author of the facsimile's introduction, the Werckmeister III temperament has received considerable discussion in the literature on tuning, from such 18th-century authors as Sorge, Marpurg and Türk, to contemporary works on the subject. As Rasch observed, since its rediscovery by Riemann in 1913, "Every single recent work about historical tunings spends a couple of pages at least to Werckmesiter's third tuning" (Werckmeister 1983, 29). There is also an explanation of it, along with an illustrative chart, in Harnoncourt's above-mentioned essay on tuning (1988, 65-66). Again, this amounts to a celebrity endorsement, of sorts, but there are other factors which account for its popularity, particularly within the Conservatorium.

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[66] Pythagorean thirds arise when four pure perfect fifths are tuned consecutively. In other words, if C-G, G-D, D-A, and A-E are tuned pure, the third of C-E will be too sharp by one syntonic comma. See Lehman 2005, 3-5.

[67] See, for example, the article "Pleidooi voor Werckmeister" (A Plea for Werckmeister) in the January 1970 issue of *Mens en Melodie* (Dekker 1970).

Among the more controversial claims in the Werckmeister literature is that Bach had his third temperament in mind—or something close to it—when composing *Das wohltemperirte Clavier*, instead of equal temperament, which had long been assumed.[68] The evidence supporting a Bach-Werckmeister link is mostly circumstantial, however, but because tuning a harpsichord or organ to Werckmeister III allows one to play in all keys, this has seemed to be a plausible alternative to equal temperament. Still, while Werckmeister may have had considerable influence in Germany, there is little indication that his tuning was widely known elsewhere in Europe. Nonetheless, since most of the keyboards at the Conservatorium are tuned to Werckmeister III, this temperament is used for a variety of musics, from all over Europe, and from the late 17th to the end of the 18th centuries.[69]

The Bach-Werckmeister association and the approval of the Werckmeister III temperament by several prominent conductors, keyboardists and musicologists likely account for its use as a default tuning system in the Conservatorium. However, Werckmeister III's very practicality—in that it can be used acceptably in all keys, and it is relatively straightforward to set by ear—has meant a compromise with historical considerations regarding intonation. The Conservatorium's harpsichords have to be used by a variety of musicians playing a range of works in many keys, and they may also be used to accompany instruments with different intonation idiosyncrasies, often all on the same concert or lesson block. They must also be tuned relatively rapidly by the harpsichord technician, who has only a limited amount of time to maintain twelve instruments. This has made the standardization of tuning within institutions such as the Conservatorium a necessity—even if, in terms of actual historical practice, a greater variety of different tuning systems would have been used across Europe and in different time periods. The limitation of this approach, however, is that Werckmeister III has become so frequently used that its appropriateness for particular repertoire is seldom challenged, and there is not often the opportunity in the Conservatorium to experiment with other unequal temperaments, such as Kirnberger, Valotti, *tempérament ordinaire*, or different gradations of meantone.[70] Ironically, it was exactly this kind of uniform approach to tuning which the Early Music movement's pioneers rejected in regard to equal temperament.[71] Just like the use of

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[68] Summaries of the arguments, pro-Werckmeister, pro-equal temperament, and others (such as Wolff [2000] and Williams [1985], who demonstrate Bach's connections to Werckmeister) can be found in Lehman 2005 (10-14). Lehman's article, of course, advocates his *own* version of "Bach's temperament", and as such his commentary must be read cautiously, with this understanding in mind. See also Kellner 1994, 1977, Rasch (in Werckmeister 1983, 28), and Lawson and Stowell 1999, 88-9. Gerard Dekker, an early exponent of the Werckmeister temperament in the Netherlands, likewise wrote in 1970 that, "Undoubtedly Joh. Seb. Bach had intended a similar tuning for *Das Wohltemperirte Klavier*, and not, as is often asserted, our tempered tuning with twelve equal semitones. The Werckmeister tuning is thus also an important contribution towards the historical reconstruction of harpsichord music from the Baroque" (Dekker 1970, 26).

[69] As Rasch noted, "It is not clear how often this tuning was used in historical times, neither during which period of time nor in which geographical area. At least a limited use in Northern and middle Germany during the last decades of the 17th and the first decades of the 18th century may be supposed….In recent times, this tuning is not an uncommon one for the harpsichord, especially when music of the Couperin-Bach era is performed" (in Werckmeister 1983, 28-9). See also Buelow 2001, who cautiously notes that "his influence was widespread in Germany in the 18th century" but does not mention other countries.

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[70] Different temperaments are discussed by teachers in their lessons, for example in the course on the historical development of the harpsichord. Most harpsichordists also tend to develop their own idiosyncratic temperaments as they become more familiar with historical models and with tuning by ear. Still, on a day-to-day basis, students in the Early Music department are primarily exposed to Werckmeister III.

[71] Interestingly, the composition program's experimentation with microtonality in the Contemporary Music Through Non-Western Techniques course (in which many recorder players and some harpsichordists participate) represents a similar challenge to equal temperament's hegemony.

A-415 as a standard pitch, Werckmeister III is now tacitly accepted by the students and staff of the Early Music Department because it has at least some grounding in 18th-century sources, and because it is the most expedient solution to a complex tuning problem.

To summarize, then, the pitch of A-415 and the keyboard temperament of Werckmeister III have become something of a tuning orthodoxy in the Early Music Department. The constraints of music-making within an institution tend place limits on heterodoxy, or experimentation with a broader range of tuning and instrumentation possibilities. Institutions, and music students, are limited by the number of instruments they can afford to purchase (or borrow from their teachers). They are also limited by the number of instruments they can comfortably master: each instrument has its own quirks and playing characteristics, the ear must become accustomed to different pitch levels, and the addition of keys on late Classical and 19th-century woodwinds adds yet another technical complication. It is only the most advanced students who tend to play the later, higher-pitched instruments and woodwinds with keys: usually, Classical and early Romantic music are Second Phase specializations. Performing on a multiplicity of instruments—especially very early or very late instruments (Medieval or Romantic, i.e., not A-415) is one way in which the senior-most students in a studio distinguish themselves from their classmates.[72]

In Amsterdam, at least, there are indications that the Early and Classical music students are not strictly isolated from each other solely because of differences in instrumentation, pitch and tuning.[73] The somewhat fluid boundaries between the two programs mean that, on occasion, Classical players will perform on Early Music Department concerts. Here, a doctrine of "separate but equal" seems to prevail, largely because of the issue of pitch. Classical players perform using a separate harpsichord (a Graebner copy by Rueck[74]) tuned to A-440 and equal temperament; Early Music ensembles will use the Kennedy Mietke tuned to A-415 and Werckmeister. Perhaps, then, such concerts indicate a reduction of tensions between the two camps, and an indication that "hardware snobbery"[75] is lessening. Frans Brüggen was invited to conduct the Conservatorium's modern symphony orchestra in December 2003 in a Mozart and Mendelssohn program, and Lucas Vis, the Conservatorium Director and contemporary music specialist, led the Sweelinck Baroque Orchestra's Mozart and C.P.E. Bach project the previous April. There have even been instances of Classical string players (especially violone or double bassists, but occasionally violinists) tuning down or borrowing an instrument to play with the Sweelinck Baroque Orchestra. Still, unless they are playing at A-415, true musical interaction between Early Music and Classical Department students is difficult to achieve.

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[72] It perhaps goes without saying that the most financially well-off students can afford to own several instruments.

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[73] This is less likely to be the case in The Hague, however. Jan Kleinbussinck, director of the Early Music Department at the Royal Conservatorium, stated in a personal interview that modern instruments were not permitted to be used at the Baroque on Stage concerts. The Classical and Early Music departments there maintain more separate identities (Kleinbussinck 2004).

[74] This is probably the Department's oldest instrument, though it was restored very recently (see p.91 above).

[75] A term employed by Taruskin in a review of the Bach viola da gamba sonatas, in reference to critics who reject performances of Beethoven and Bach simply because the performers use modern instead of period instruments. See Taruskin 1995, 301.

Studying in the Early Music Department presents an opportunity for students to learn and experiment with different tunings, pitches and instruments, with the goal of developing a greater awareness of different historical approaches and styles. The process of "reconstructing" this historical practice, however, represents a negotiation between intellectual, aesthetic and pragmatic considerations. As Alfredo Bernardini (2004) observed, this issue of compromise came to a head, beginning in the late 1970s, as the Baroque orchestras made a push towards professionalization and more consistent playing standards:

> So I think that was a period where it was a little bit, delicate to find a way where you could go historical, and you could take risks in learning a new technique. Which was the problem. I mean, take the problem of brass instruments, you know? ....
>
> So this is why they made trumpets with holes which are not historical, you know, and use the modern mouthpiece and this stuff. So that they could perform *tomorrow*. So in one hand it was a pity because that was a sort of obstacle to sort of go deeper into the subject. But on the other hand, it was the thing that allowed [one] to listen to a concert with a certain degree of pleasure [and] without too many accidents already immediately at that time. So I think this has been a struggle for a while, the balance between real historical performance and performance at all! <laughs>

Naturally, the desire to achieve a perfect correspondence with all aspects of 18th-century performance practice in the modern-day world is a utopian, or even quixotic, goal. But it is not only the impossibility of absolute knowledge of the past that prevents the achievement of this goal; the institutional and socially-determined constraints discussed above can also limit students' exposure to the complexity of issues that Early Music inherently raises. The tendency of educational institutions is to reproduce accepted ideas and practices—in this case, the current set of conventions regarding instrument use, pitch and temperament. Given limited exposure to other performance practices, or to the idea that the current way of playing is only one of many possibilities, the existing system can become doxic, in that it becomes difficult to conceive of any alternative manner of playing.[76] In short, the institutionalization of Early Music has developed extraordinarily accomplished performers, but it has also brought with it the tensions and potential for conflict inherent in both institutions in general and the western conservatory tradition in particular.

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[76] See Chapter Two, p. 43 above.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PEDAGOGICAL APPROACHES OF THE EARLY MUSIC DEPARTMENT

Entering the Early Music Department: The Gateway to the Field

Aside from instrument choice and repertoire, certain characteristics of the Early Music Department's population distinguish its students from those enrolled in the Conservatorium's other programs. One of the most striking features of the Department is that it is highly international, and the program draws students from many parts of the world: its student population is about 85% foreign, compared to about 29% for Dutch conservatories on average.[1] The most commonly represented countries (in no particular order) are the U.K., the U.S., Canada, Germany, Belgium,[2] Spain, France, Australia, Japan, Italy, Portugal and Mexico, although there are increasing numbers of South Americans and Eastern Europeans, particularly from

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[1] See Chapter Seven, p.385.

[2] This is perhaps surprising, given that the Royal Conservatory in Brussels also has a prominent Early Music Department. One French-speaking Belgian in Amsterdam with whom I spoke said she did not continue her studies in her native city because she disliked that the conservatory was split both linguistically and philosophically: the French side practiced "mainstream" Classical music along the lines of the Paris Conservatoire model, and the Flemish side had the Early Music program, and she felt that there was little interaction between the two. This suggests that in Belgium, the performance practice/authenticity debates may be intimately entwined with larger issues of language politics, culture and identity.

Romania, Poland, Russia, and the Baltic states.[3] As noted in Chapter Seven, there are typically only a handful of Dutch nationals. The most commonly-spoken language among students, then, is *not* Dutch, although the Conservatorium's student newspaper and most administrative materials are written in this language. English, by default, tends to be the *lingua franca*, however German, French and Spanish are widely spoken among students and staff; it is also not uncommon to hear Japanese, Russian or Polish. While undoubtedly one of the Department's greatest strengths, this internationalism can also have one main drawback—in this respect, it is not unlike many western multicultural societies: people naturally tend to associate with each other in cliques according to their native culture and language. It is the multilingual students, however, who can often break down these barriers, while at the same time developing their foreign language skills along with their musical abilities.

With so few Dutch speakers, the most common instructional language in the Department is English. This was cited as an enormous advantage by many North American, British and Australian students with whom I spoke, who noted that in the Dutch conservatories, the tuition was much lower than in the U.K., and they could still experience studying abroad without having to master a foreign language.[4] While there are a significant number of foreigners on the Department's faculty, it is not quite as diverse as the student body, and the pioneer generation of Early Music teachers in particular is made up primarily of Dutch nationals.[5] Nevertheless, virtually all the teachers are multilingual and make extraordinary efforts to communicate with their students in their native tongue whenever possible.[6]

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[3] Significantly missing from the Early Music Department's population are South Asians, Africans, Chinese and Koreans.

[4] This in part accounts for why comparatively few international students study at Early Music programs elsewhere in Europe. As Nuchelmans (2003b) noted, some 75% of Early Music students at the Paris Conservatoire were French, which was the language of instruction. Students who were not fluent in French, then, would face a barrier to enrolment.

In addition to the fact that they are foreigners, most of the Early Music students are somewhat older than the typical Conservatorium undergraduate. Nearly all have completed their initial conservatory or university degrees, and have come to the CvA for postgraduate training.[7] The faculty-student relationships in the Department, then, tend to be shaped both by the greater maturity of the students, and the linguistic and cultural differences between them.

Since the international students make up the core of the Department's enrolment, the Conservatorium's faculty members employ a number of strategies to attract them to the Netherlands. When asked why they came to Amsterdam, students often cited their teachers' recordings as a specific draw, and the faculty's international reputation, as established through concert tours; others had already worked with their teacher at a master class or summer course abroad. In this sense, the importance of recordings and touring for professional musicians goes beyond their immediate financial rewards. Shelemay, in her ethnography of the Boston Early Music scene, has noted the economic necessity of both touring and recording. She observes that Early Musicians are "forced to tour in order to schedule the critical mass of concerts necessary to make even a modest living" (Shelemay 2001, 17), and that recordings make it possible for ensembles "to obtain engagements and maintain an active relationship with their audience between live concerts"; they also "circulat[e] performances and provid[e] detailed documentation of repertory, texts and translations, performance practices, and the group's statement of purpose" (17-18). Cottrell further notes that recordings can act as symbolic capital (e.g., being signed by an international label lends a group prestige), or they may play a role in forging an ensemble's identity, or in distinguishing it from other groups (95-101). My experience among international students in the Early Music Department, however, also illustrates the extent to which recordings and touring are essential recruiting tools. As such, CDs are an important form of cultural capital, for their global circulation builds the international reputation of ensembles and performers, and helps to make the Dutch Early Musicians more well-known outside of the Netherlands. Touring and master classes help teachers to acquire social capital by forging contacts with potential students, and by reestablishing links with colleagues and former students, who often organize workshops and sponsor concerts in their home countries.

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[5] Some, such as Alfredo Bernardini, Claron McFadden and Jed Wentz, came to the Netherlands as students, stayed because of work opportunities and/or personal reasons, and eventually became Dutch residents. Others, such as Donna Agrell and Baroque trumpetist Friedemann Immer, commute to the Netherlands from neighbouring countries (in this case, Switzerland and Germany, respectively). As Davitt Moroney noted, the Dutch have been much more willing to hire foreign nationals as teachers than other European countries, particularly France; this engenders a more international atmosphere in Amsterdam and The Hague (Moroney, personal communication).

[6] When observing master classes with Alfredo Bernardini (whose native language is Italian), I once witnessed him teaching an oboe student in German, addressing the ensemble's vocalist in Japanese and the harpsichordist in Spanish, and then explaining to the audience what was going on in English and Dutch.

[7] Since the elimination of the postgraduate certificate, most foreign students are now placed in the Bachelors program in their historical instrument, though they may receive credits and advanced standing from their "modern" degree.

Thus, recordings and touring play an essential role in keeping the Early Music movement alive—and the diminishment of both activities has profound repercussions for the continued viability of historical performance. Lucy van Dael (2004), for example, lamented the fact that Dutch Early Music ensembles are often heard more often abroad (especially in Japan, Spain and Australia) than they are in the Netherlands itself; she felt that this makes it more difficult to encourage Dutch students to study historical performance. In any case, attracting new musicians to Early Music both reproduces it, and refreshes it, by injecting the movement with new perspectives and talent from abroad.

Word of mouth and second-hand experience with Dutch conservatory graduates may also lead potential students to consider studying in the Netherlands. One American keyboardist with whom I spoke noted that she'd looked at people's C.V.s when considering graduate programs, and saw that the Early Musicians "who were getting work" had studied in Europe, particularly the Netherlands. Some of these musicians form part of the extensive network of former Dutch conservatory students who, having returned to their home countries, established Early Music scenes there. Given that Early Music has now been taught in the Dutch conservatories for more than thirty years, these alumni connections are remarkably wide-reaching.[8] Van Hauwe, for instance, estimated that 80% of European professional music schools and conservatories "have old Block members in duty." These alumni, together with some Dutch musicians who have emigrated, have effectively created a Dutch Early Music diaspora of sorts, particularly in Germany, Canada, the U.S., Japan and Australia; they also help to promote the Dutch conservatories' reputation abroad.[9] Many of today's foreign Early Music students began their studies in their home countries with teachers who had themselves studied in the Netherlands; thus, these student-teacher lineages may also serve as recruiting tools.

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[8] Unlike many American universities, the Dutch conservatories do not maintain formal contacts with alumni for the purpose of recruiting, fundraising, or career tracking, though the Conservatorium van Amsterdam is now setting up an alumni section on its website.

In this respect, the experience of Miki, a Japanese Baroque violinist, is typical. She first learned about the Early Music movement as a high school student in her Tokyo conservatory. At this school, where she continued on in her studies as an undergraduate, it was possible to study recorder, traverso, Baroque oboe, harpsichord, organ and Baroque violin as minor subjects. As she put it,

> There, who is teacher, most of them study in Holland. So for me, very easy to know about the movement in Holland. At that time, I knew only about Holland [as a centre for Early Music].

In Japan, she was especially interested in an introductory course taught by the traverso teacher, which covered such topics as historical instruments, basso continuo, tuning and temperaments; at the same time, she also began listening to a number of period-instrument recordings. A friend of her teacher lent her an excellent Baroque violin, which felt very comfortable to play; working with this instrument encouraged her to continue in this vein. After finishing her undergraduate degree, she decided to concentrate more on Baroque playing, and thought about studying abroad:

> I knew about Holland already because there are so many persons from Holland in Japan. I feel I want to know, I wanted to know as a country also. But just, there's not so many information also. I didn't know anything about

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[9] As a case in point, three of Toronto's Tafelmusik orchestra's core members, leader Jeanne Lamon, harpsichordist Charlotte Nediger and cellist Christina Mahler (who is herself Dutch), all studied at the Royal Conservatorium in The Hague. When I attended Tafelmusik's summer workshop in 2002, I was amazed to find among the staff and participants a substantial group of Dutch speakers—mostly current students and alumni of the Dutch conservatories.

> teachers. Just…and so I wanted to go really, other country, not [necessarily] Holland, but actually… at that time there is some course by Lucy van Dael in Japan. And then, my impression was: she is from Holland, and then, there is some kind of strict way of Early Music in Holland—I thought.[10] But Lucy is not, Lucy's a little bit different, I thought. I get some special feeling from her.

It was the combination of recordings, contact with Japanese teachers who had studied in Holland, and also with Dutch people working in the Japanese scene who first informed her about Early Music in the Netherlands. It was the personal contact with the teacher, however, which ultimately made her want to come to Amsterdam to study.

In some cases, interest in the Early Music department comes from first-hand experience within the Conservatorium itself.[11] A number of the Department's full-time students—particularly the few Dutch students enrolled in the program—began their Conservatorium studies on modern instruments and took up an historical instrument as a *bijvak* (secondary subject). It is thus not uncommon, for example, to hear a singer in the Classical Department perform a Bach cantata—accompanied by harpsichord and Baroque strings—on her final Bachelors exam, in addition to *bel canto* arias, Schubert and Wolf lieder, and contemporary works accompanied with a modern piano;[12] a modern flutist may perform a Bach flute sonata on Baroque flute as part of his final exam, which could also serve as an entrance exam for a Masters in traverso. There have also been a few students who have done a joint Masters program in both a modern and historical instrument, though this is not common. In most cases, the Early Music degree is a further specialization taken on after the completion of studies on a modern instrument.[13]

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[10] By this, she elaborated, she thought at the time that Dutch players tended to play more strictly in time, but that Van Dael's playing was more free.

[11] Additionally, An *open dag* (literally, "open day" or open house) is held each year at the end of January for prospective Conservatorium students. The Early Music Department, along with the Classical and Jazz programs, showcases some of its students in a short concert (performers are chosen in advance by the Department head). Given that so many of the Department's students come from abroad, however, it seems unlikely that this is a significant recruiting tool for Early Music.

[12] Some Classical Department singers will also perform lieder accompanied by a fortepiano, but because there is no instrument in any of the concert halls, and due to the difficulties involved in moving an instrument from the Sweelinck Collectie, they are infrequently used in final exams.

Nearly all Early Music students, then, enter the Early Music Department having already undergone a conservatory education. Some teachers, such as Lucy van Dael, actually *require* that entering students hold a degree on a modern instrument; she will not accept them if they have not completed their undergraduate studies on modern violin first.[14] She feels that Baroque violin is "technically…so much more difficult" than the modern violin, and wants to ensure that students have a solid command of the instrument before tackling the 17th- and 18th-century repertoire. Van Dael's violin classes emphasize technical development on the Baroque violin as well, and her students also have technique examinations along with violinists in the Classical department. In classes, students study early études, left hand exercises by Hindemith, and learn to improvise new etudes to solve individual problems in pieces (Van Dael 2004). While the Hindemith may seem like an anachronistic choice, it is a pragmatic means of expanding the limited surviving 18th-century pedagogical materials to solve a practical problem: the need to adjust the technique of the left hand while learning to balance a violin without chin and shoulder rests to stabilize the instrument. Likewise, in my own traverso lessons, my teacher (Jed Wentz) heavily emphasized such 18th-century material as Quantz (1980) and Dôthel (1990) études, which I had to prepare at every lesson, but we also studied several embouchure and tone studies of his own creation. With Van Dael and Wentz, there is a striking similarity here with Max van Egmond's comments about Baroque singing in Chapter Three (p. 71): in both cases, there is an emphasis on mastery of the instrument, which is seen as a fundamental and common priority to both Early Music and mainstream players. In the case of Early Musicians in particular, this focus can be seen to stem not only from the desire to learn an instrument thoroughly, but also to distance themselves from the stigma of amateurism and unprofessionalism, labels affixed to them in the early days of the movement.

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[13] I know of a few cases where Early Music students have *begun* their formal musical studies on a period instrument (other than recorder), particularly on harpsichord, but such individuals remain quite rare.

[14] Likewise, students must have also completed a program in (historical) harpsichord before beginning the contemporary technique concentration with Annelie de Man. In other words, they cannot simply jump from modern piano to contemporary harpsichord: they must have some familiarity with the instrument beforehand.

However, the "conversion" of technical skills from a modern instrument to a period instrument is not necessarily a straightforward process in the Early Music Department. In some cases, study on a modern instrument was actually seen as counterproductive or detrimental to progress on an historical instrument. The modern piano, for some harpsichordists, was a particularly contentious issue: several students mentioned being required to restrict modern piano playing (and, in some cases, even fortepiano playing[15]) or felt that their technique was unfairly criticized during examinations for being too "pianistic". Nevertheless, most harpsichordists inevitably began their studies on piano, and/or the organ, just as Baroque violinists switch from

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[15] One student who, having completed her Second Phase studies in harpsichord and taken up fortepiano, began another Bachelors degree on that instrument; she was told not to touch the harpsichord for a year by the exam commission. Her situation is probably unusual, however, in that she had never played modern piano.

“modern”, and most traverso players begin as modern flutists.[16] It was not uncommon for Early Music students to occasionally play gigs or teach lessons on modern instruments, as maintaining these skills tended to broaden their career prospects—though these activities were sometimes done on the sly. If the emphasis on technical development represented an embracing of Classical Department lingo and its value of mastery and virtuosity, there was nonetheless a tension and residual wariness of modern instrumental playing in the Early Music Department. This was articulated not only in terms of an assumed gap in Classical musicians’ stylistic knowledge, but also regarding such areas as embouchure, reed-making and (in the case of keyboard instruments) fingering and touché.

There are occasionally players who make a more dramatic change from one instrument to another, for example switching from violin or recorder to viola da gamba, or recorder to Baroque oboe. In part, taking on a second instrument allows recorder players greater flexibility, and it is also encouraged by Van Hauwe. Donna Agrell (2004), for example, noted that increasing numbers of her Baroque bassoon students are former recorder players, whereas in the past, nearly all had been modern bassoonists. A number of Baroque oboists have also started as recorder players, and as such they have the advantage of being familiar with Baroque style. Especially unusual was an oboist who started out as a jazz saxophonist, and he was remarkably adept at improvising compared to his colleagues. However, because these students had never played modern oboe (or bassoon), they faced significant challenges, such as learning to make reeds, and controlling their breathing (Bernardini 2004).

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[16] In my experience, it has become increasingly uncommon to find a traverso player who began as a recorder player, though pioneers such as Frans Brüggen and Walter van Hauwe played both instruments.

Given the significant investment of time, money and resources students have already made in mastering a modern instrument, and the difficulties involved in "switching over" to an historical one, the most obvious question which arises is: *why* change, and why start anew? Although the answers were as varied as the individual, certain trends did emerge. One remarkable commonality a number of students in the Early Music Department shared was an injury which limited their ability to play a conventional instrument.[17] Several harpsichordists I encountered had experienced arm, wrist pain or severe tendinitis which was exacerbated by modern piano playing; one had even developed Achilles tendinitis caused from repeated piano pedaling. Another keyboardist, however, had a painful, if poignantly comical, story:

> Emil: I've had my injury since almost the beginning of my professional studies…I injured my right arm when actually carrying that bloody fortepiano! <laughs> When I had just bought it I carried it and I had a little pain afterwards but of course I continued to—I just thought I had sort of, what do you call it, wrecked it? When you sort of…
> KR: Pull something?
> Emil: Yeah, you pull it so you get a little pain. And I thought, well, in a couple of days, it will be gone. And of course it didn't go, and now it's almost…yeah…it's more than ten years ago.

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[17] It is difficult to tell, without a large-scale quantitative study, whether there are more Early Musicians suffering from a performance-related injury than mainstream professional musicians, where the numbers are no doubt alarmingly high. One recent study (Daykin 2005) linked musicians—especially freelancers, as Early Musicians are wont to be—with poor working conditions, which, compounded by the stress and insecurity of the profession, the cult of the virtuoso artist, and the stigma against discussing playing-induced pain, might exacerbate the tendency for injuries. There is a stereotype that Early Musicians are especially interested in alternative medicine, acupuncture, homeopathy and body awareness (e.g., Feldenkrais, Alexander Technique, etc.); this is perhaps because such approaches are often part of the recovery process for such injuries and the chronic pain which may result from them.

Still, he felt that the arm injury had not so much thwarted his career ambitions as a modern pianist or organist, but rather that playing the harpsichord, with its lighter action and touché, made it possible to work around the problem:

> Well, my Early Music interest was going on for 10 years before I got my injury, and of course it's ironic that I actually got the injury by carrying the old instrument! It sort of—a little bit defeats the whole thing. But it's very much true; I must admit now when I look back that the organ can of course be very heavy to play, the piano *is* very heavy to play, and I think the reason that I was able to get a professional education on an instrument on a rather, well, quite high level is that I probably went for an instrument that was very light to play. I can't say that it was unproblematic because I had pains anyway, but I probably would not have been possible at—able at all to do a higher education on the piano. But anyway, I was zero interested in doing that.

Still, Emil did feel that he had faced certain limitations; he had "never been a really technical player", in part because the most difficult pieces, those that require "hours and hours and *hours* a day of really fast and straining practice. I just couldn't play them. I actually couldn't study them because I couldn't study that much." However, he and his teachers in the Department managed to find repertoire that highlighted his strengths, and he developed a particular interest in basso continuo playing, allowing him to concentrate on developing his skills as an accompanist.

Another keyboardist, while not suffering from a performance-related injury, nevertheless felt that the fortepiano was a better match for her physically (she is a very petite woman, well under five feet tall).[18] While she described herself as a "regular modern piano player", she developed an interest in early pianos after an Early Music summer course with Dutch fortepianist Bart van Oort:

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[18] Interestingly, the woman who manages the Conservatorium's fortepiano museum, Gwen Savalli, noted that she had developed serious back problems which made it difficult for her to tune and maintain modern instruments (personal communication).

> In this summer school that I did which was in '96, I think I just...I really liked it. I had a great time with it. And then and now, it feels easier for me. It's more—closer to my hand size and my body size than to, to fight with a modern piano, which is what it feels like sometimes to, to get the sound that's necessary. It's a big instrument. Fortepiano is much quieter; it's more subtle. It wasn't so much that I liked the music from that time, although the more I play it, the more I like the music and understand the music, but it wasn't because I happened to like Mozart and Beethoven and that they're my favourite composers. They're *not*. It's simply that the instrument seemed to suit *me*. Even if it—the early instruments were not very good instruments!

It is perhaps not surprising that she found the fortepiano more comfortable to play than a modern piano: indeed, many of the late 18th-century and early 19th-century pianos were originally designed to be played by women,[19] and it seems hardly coincidental that all but one of the fortepiano students during my period of study in Amsterdam were female.[20]

In many cases, then, playing an historical instrument allowed musicians with certain physical limitations to continue their performance careers, in part because such instruments allowed for certain technical adaptations to be made. In this manner, a student's interest in music as a profession and the considerable educational investment in musical training that they had already made could be "recycled", or redirected to the field of historical performance.

Other Early Musicians in the Department experienced something akin to "burnout" from both modern instruments and the conservatory system which led to a questioning of mainstream Classical performance culture and concert life. Michelle, for example, had suffered from RSI[21] which, coupled with a growing frustration with the modern oboe, caused her to seek a new direction in her studies:

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[19] As Richard Leppert (1993, 134) observed, the piano in the 19th century "located itself almost exclusively among amateurs as a female instrument, completing a historical trend reaching back into the seventeenth century (this despite the many men of the period who played it)."
[20] Both fortepiano *instructors*, however, are male.

> When I got to the third year of my studies on modern oboe, I actually had a bit of a crisis, because I realized that I *hated* playing in a symphony orchestra. And I thought, well, what am I doing, then, because this is the future I should be hoping for. And I actually stopped playing for a whole year and just worked as a nanny for a year to sort of clear the brain, and at the end of the year, decided not to come back to music and to go and study nursing. And I went to tell my teacher this—my professor—and he said, look, just finish your degree, you've got one year full-time, one year part-time, just finish it and then you've got an undergraduate degree.

As it happened, when she resumed her program, she got permission to take occasional lessons with another teacher specifically because he also taught the Baroque oboe. This had not been a particular interest of hers (although she had dabbled in it a little bit), but it was the only way her conservatory would allow her to study with someone else. It turned out that she very much enjoyed playing the instrument, and decided to pursue further training in Europe after completing her degree.

The Early Music Department also provided opportunities to somewhat older musicians who had entered the conservatory later in life. The story of Aaron, a lutenist, is particularly affecting. Aaron did not take up serious performance study until his mid-twenties, after he had completed his country's mandatory army service, and studied both archaeology and musicology at university. Unlike most professional musicians, his formal musical training did not begin at a young age; although he had taught himself to play ukulele and guitar as a child, he did not learn to read music until later, and played music—mostly pop songs and folk tunes—by ear. As a college student, he began private voice and theory lessons, but he was not accepted at his university's music academy when he tried to transfer from archaeology into vocal performance:

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[21] Repetitive Strain Injury.

> So finally the exams came, the auditions, and I passed the theory but I didn't pass the <laughs> I didn't pass the vocal audition! I was too nervous and my voice was not…well certainly not an opera singer! I was more of a beautiful sort of, I can, I can sing beautifully and, certainly something that I for the first time heard, Early Music. So not wanting to waste an extra year—I mean, they all said that I should wait another year and try again….I was admitted without a problem to musicology, because I play the guitar, I sang, I had a good examination—theory examination. And they were also so much more friendlier, much more friendly. The academy is, it's like, uh, singing teachers are really a pain and the musicology people were *so* open and *so* nice—it was clear that it's a much more comfortable environment, to, to study…

While studying music history, he became fascinated with Medieval and Renaissance music, and started a vocal ensemble to specialize in this repertoire. He also happened to find an old lute in the basement of the musicology building, which was in need of some repairs. He found an amateur lute maker locally who was able to restore the instrument, and took some lessons with his daughter, but for years was hesitant to call himself a professional musician:

> So I got this lute, but I was really afraid of making a commitment…because, it's a thing like you're really busy with music but you never dare—I never dare—to put myself in a place of becoming a musician. It sort of seemed like, sort of a really professional place, high there, where I have to leave everything else and just practice seven hours a day, which, by the way, I *was* doing but not, not really systematically. Like when I discovered tablature, I remember playing the whole day! Just, just reading tablature.

This crisis of identity—over whether or not he should call himself an amateur or professional musician—was something Aaron felt throughout his studies, and he expressed it several times in the interview. It is not merely characteristic of his own personal struggle, but is emblematic, in many ways, of a tension many students in the Department also experienced and described to me, even those coming from a more traditional or conventional classical musical background.

Still, after only a year and a half of formal study in his home country, Aaron was accepted at the Conservatorium van Amsterdam's Early Music Department—a feat he felt was possible only because the entrance examinations for Early Music were not as demanding as those for the regular Classical instruments:

> I made the audition and, I mean, I was quite fast with the tablature, and I was, my, my musicological background and my, my possibilities as a student helped me to catch up quite quickly. And I did a master class in the Early Music festival in erm—in J*****.[22] You know, there's an Early Music workshop once a year. And in a way, a year and a half was enough but here, maybe it's also interesting, as, as, ah…as a plus and as a minus that the Early Music, I think, anyway, is—the demands, for the students, for the coming students are not as high as in the Classical Department. I mean, if I would play *guitar* in the level that I would play the lute, I would *not* be accepted.

Whether or not Aaron's assessment is accurate is perhaps beside the point—in any event, the Department's gamble on him paid off. He successfully completed his First and Second Phase diplomas, and a year after graduation (when he was in his early thirties), his career prospects looked promising: his agenda was solidly booked with recitals and orchestral work, and he had acquired sufficient income to enable the purchase of a theorbo. More importantly, Aaron's story demonstrates that, unlike the mainstream Classical conservatory programs, the Early Music Department will tolerate slightly older and less technically polished students, at least at the beginning of their studies. This represents, in part, a reversal of the traditional conservatory education's values: the virtuoso and the prodigy are not necessarily held in high esteem, although the development of a solid technique, as noted above, becomes an important priority for Early Music students.[23] A number of teachers noted, however (particularly Agrell and Bernardini), that the relatively later start of Early Musicians makes it difficult to judge the potential of students in admission auditions, especially if they are playing on a poor-quality instrument or do not yet have the skills and experience to make good reeds. As such, the Early Music students' subsequent performances in lessons, *Voorspeelavonden* and *tentamens* become all the more important checks on their skill level, and poor progress later on may mean that they are asked to leave the conservatory.

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[22] Names and locations have been camouflaged to protect the speakers' identities.

The Early Music Department was also perceived by both students and teachers alike as a refuge for the more intellectually-minded musician. Historical performance was viewed as a very different state of mind, and a different way of thinking about music, from mainstream performance. Max van Egmond, for example, noted that students tended to be attracted to the Early Music program because of both their physical attributes (such as injuries or body type, as noted above), and their intellectual qualities:

> I think—and I'm sure you have seen them and you have met them—those young musicians that just have a somewhat more intellectual approach to music than others. Let's say the Paganini-like virtuoso on the violin, his interest is maybe 80% physical: what can I do with my hands, what can I do with my virtuosity? And how can I be more flashy still, and technique, and whatever? Singers would probably try every nerve—strain every nerve—to make their voices bigger. More resonance, more volume and the opera this

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[23] This is not to deny the fact that young and technically brilliant players still attracted considerable notice in the Early Music Department.

> and that. And then there is another category of music, just using a little more of the grey cells to speak with—through the mouth of—Hercule Poirot, a little more intellectual approach, which means more historical approach also. And well, then through that wanting to know more, to *experiment* more, and to a smaller percentage, maybe those who are not *able* to play or sing very loud. Let's say a pianist with delicate arms or delicate hands might turn to the harpsichord because you don't need to bang so much. Or even to the fortepiano….Then, singers, for instance who have small but flexible voices, they might think there's more of a market for me than in opera or Wagner or Verdi.

Indeed, it was this more experimental, free, and "intellectual approach" which appealed to a number of former students in the Department, and accounted for their turn away from mainstream classical performance. As Emil observed, it was not so much the harpsichord itself that he found appealing, but that he disliked the emphasis modern conservatory training put on mastering the largest, technically difficult pieces:

> …one of the reasons that I wasn't so interested in the modern, well, conventional way of studying the organ, with everything that comes to it, and the piano, was nothing to do with the instruments, but it's more the way of studying that was very alien to me. This, that much of the focus is on velocity, on skill, on technique, that you have to play *large* pieces, that you have to play *fast* pieces, you have to play them—and that the reason to play them is almost like, well, they become the reason themselves. In a way—oh, how should I explain it—that a pianist who doesn't—who doesn't play, what would you say? Liszt or Scriabin or Rachmaninoff or the more difficult Beethoven, etc., he is almost considered a sort of a second-class pianist. Not because he chooses not to do it because he likes other styles better or he does maybe play them better but it's more because of the fact that people automatically expect—how you say—assume, that he is not able to play this music.

Emil felt that with this "conventional way of studying", and the "striv[ing] for technical perfectionism" in the conservatory world, works which might be of high artistic merit and equally challenging in terms of interpretation (he cited works by

Satie, Debussy and Ravel as examples) were less frequently performed and less valued by modern keyboardists.

One string player, Julia, who had studied in one of her country's top conservatories, likewise felt that the conventional conservatory education was very constricting, and that she had little opportunity to advance beyond her original assessment:

> …[at my school] it was *incredibly* high-powered, so if you felt, I mean, and they only took— they basically only took an orchestral um, section each year, so there *were* only 8 players [on my instrument] in my year…Um [they took] a lot more fiddles. But it—and also, very soon you were put into an order of, of who was worth what and therefore also what's—possibilities you were given. And that's not to say they weren't right in that, but actually it wasn't very inspiring to work further when you'd already been told that basically, [they] didn't think you were particularly good.[24] And then, I suppose in a way Early Music was something in which I felt I *was* wanted and my musicality *was* recognized, and I could become involved in without this incredible competition of the, of the modern side. But it was—it seemed a lot more, just being interested in the music and um, and interested in *why* things were as they were and I've, I've always been incredibly interested in history.

Like Emil and Aaron, she felt that with Early Music, there was more of a connection between academic subjects (such as history) and performing:

> …so in a way, it sort of seemed natural. Also, it required some brain activity which actually, in a way, modern music—modern music! <laughs> Modern *school* didn't really seem to require in the same way. Well, actually yes it did, but at the time, it didn't feel like it.

Julia found that playing a Baroque instrument afforded her greater social mobility in the professional world, and during her second year of studies, she was already being hired for paid gigs outside of the conservatory. Like a number of musicians I interviewed, however, her modern teacher did not much encourage or appreciate her successes in this field and it did not earn her much clout within the confines of her undergraduate institution. At her conservatory,

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[24] See Davies (2004, 815-16) for an example of favouritism and pigeonholing by staff at another conservatory, challenging that institution's official discourse of meritocracy.

> It [Early Music] wasn't really accepted as being a worthwhile part of the music movement. Everybody just [thought], you know, woolly, woolly socks and open-toed sandals sort of thing. I mean, it was really despised, in a way, by a lot of people.
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> So and um, and even my modern teacher said—at one point, she said, Julia you're doing too much Baroque work. <laughs> To which I replied: Yes, Y*****, but it pays the rent! So, yeah, there was, it was—I mean it was a dichotomy, but that's what I wanted to do and it wasn't really—by this point I really didn't enjoy my modern lessons at all.

Several instrumentalists also found the mentality of modern orchestral playing a particularly strong turn-off. For Michelle, the oboist, working in a modern symphony was both unpleasantly cutthroat and required the mastery of an enormous range of musical styles:

> ...I think it's a very different attitude in the [Early Music] profession. I wouldn't want to go back to the *competitive* nature of the modern musical scene. And anyway, I wouldn't—I'm not the right sort of person for it—I'm not flexible enough. You have to be able to do everything very well to be a modern player, I think.

Moreover, she felt that playing in a Baroque orchestra allowed her to have more creative freedom and a more prominent role in the ensemble, just like playing chamber music:

> KR: What was it about modern symphonies that really didn't click with you?
> Michelle: I think, the repertoire for a start. I just didn't understand it. And then when we did earlier repertoire, if we did a Mozart symphony, or the occasional bit of Handel, I just, I hated the style in which it was played and it just didn't make sense to me to play it in that way. And also the feeling of being surplus to requirement as a—particularly as a second oboist in a symphony orchestra. It's just like: you feel like you don't make an impact on

> the ensemble, on the end result. And in a chamber orchestra, *every* voice counts. I mean, I suppose ideally in a symphony orchestra also every voice counts! But more clearly so in a chamber orchestra—you don't get away with anything. And also in the Baroque repertoire, as an oboist, you sit on the fence I think, in a very nice way, between being an orchestral member and soloist. Particularly with the Baroque repertoire, I guess not so much—well, also with the Classical.

Similar frustrations with orchestral playing were voiced by many of the "mainstream" musicians in Cottrell's study, who saw it as repetitive, unsatisfying or stifling in many ways. As he summarized, "It may be something of a truism to observe that musicians find it frustrating to contribute to situations where they feel their sense of self, the particular individual qualities they possess as musicians, is either inadequately utilized or subsumed to such a degree within the larger musical whole that they feel inconsequential" (Cottrell 2004, 104). By contrast, performing with Early Music ensembles was seen by students and young professionals as more accommodating to their physical and intellectual needs, providing more career mobility, and allowing more creative input than a conventional orchestral chair.

It was this possibility of a creative role in music making which also attracted earlier generations to historical performance. Alfredo Bernardini, who began his studies on the Baroque oboe at The Hague in the early 1980s, observed,

> I think one element that attracted me particularly to this Early Music movement very much was this new mentality in music which is something then not directly connected to the repertoire itself. The new mentality where *every* performer in a group has his own musical intelligence. And instead of having, you know, the player of the instrument and the conductor who knows about music, now the player is a more complete musician and he knows about music; he might even make his own instrument, and he plays and he, he has his own ideas. This was for me a very attractive new musician figure and I think this is what attracted many people and this was definitely an important part, for me, as a musician [I] got from that a lot [of] motivation.

The role of the Conservatorium in developing this "more complete musician" through classes, projects and lessons will be explored in the next three sections.

Coursework and Projects

If the Early Music Department is said to profess a different logic than mainstream Classical training, this "using a little more of the grey cells" approach, as Van Egmond put it above, is an appropriate characterization of it. However, particularly when it came to coursework and requirements, it was not always appreciated in practice by international students—especially those who felt that their undergraduate program had already covered much of the same ground. As Michelle noted,

> …it's not that I'm not interested, and I'm frustrated with myself for my lack of knowledge, but there are only so many hours in a day. That's what it comes down to and especially when you're an oboist, and you're having to spend an hour making reeds a day. Ideally. Then that's another hour of your practice time gone. Yeah, I would have found it too much, but I think it was—for me it was o.k. because I had a very good Bachelor degree course in B***** which had really laid down very, very good foundations, and in fact in the whole continuo course that we did, I learned very little because I basically did have a good foundation already laid.

As such, many students place out of many of the conservatory's course requirements. While Early Music students enrolled in the First Phase/Bachelors program take essentially the same course load as those in the Classical Department, most of them receive credit for such core subjects as music theory and solfège from their previous degrees.

The Early Music Department has, however, developed several classes specifically for its own students. There include courses in Renaissance and Baroque counterpoint, and one on rhetoric. A course entitled Schola Cantorum, focusing on Gregorian chant, had a mixture of Early Music students, church music specialists, choir conductors and organists enrolled.[25] The instructional approach was mainly performance-based, and emphasized the reading of notation and sight-singing.[26] The final exam was structured like any other performance jury: students had to appear one-by-one before a commission, sing prepared chant examples, and respond to some questions orally.

More directly related to the repertoire performed by Early Music students were two complimentary courses—Harmony in Historical Performance Practice and Basso Continuo—which were conducted over the course of two academic years. In the first year, students focused mainly on 16th- and 17th-century music, while second year students continued on with late 17th- through mid-18th-century music. These classes tended to have higher numbers of students enrolled, especially since the continuo course was compulsory for harpsichordists. The instructor, Thérèse de

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[25] This course was supposed to be required for all Early Music students, though in practice few of them attended regularly. It seemed a surprising requirement, given the lack of Medieval music performance in the Conservatorium in general, and the lack of a direct connection to the Department's overall emphasis on Baroque and Classical music.

[26] Ironically, this was perhaps the least "historically aware" course in the Conservatorium I encountered. Despite an interest in "clean" editions and facsimiles by others in the Department, we actually used Solemnes editions in the Schola, an A-440 pitch fork to set the reference tone, and followed the conducting of the teacher. This probably reflects the mixed enrolment of the class: students in the church music and choir conducting program were likely to perform this repertoire in sacred services, and not in a formal concert setting.

Goede-Klinkhamer, provided a survey of relevant period treatises on harmony, continuo playing, ornamentation and expression, mainly through lectures and prepared handouts. Students in the Harmony in Historical Performance Practice classes would form ensembles, and perform the repertoire discussed in class. These groups were formed with whatever combinations of instruments were available—in other words, Baroque oboes and traversi would play works by Frescobaldi, Marini or Uccellini, even though these instruments were not yet invented in the early 17th century.[27] The emphasis here was on practical music-making, experimentation with basso continuo realization and harmonic language, and phrasing, rather than a precise concern for historical verisimilitude in every detail. The Basso Continuo class did not involve much playing; instead, students had to prepare written accompaniment realizations in different styles. These classes were the clearest attempt in the Department to integrate the information in historical treatises with the pragmatic aspects of performing, addressing such problems as realizing unfigured bass lines, cadential formulae, and the addition of dissonances and ornamentation.

What is particularly noteworthy about these courses is that they run in counterpoint to a larger debate about basso continuo playing in the Netherlands. Indeed, continuo realization is a surprisingly controversial subject among Dutch harpsichordists, one which has tended to divide the faculty in the Department into factions. On the one hand are supporters of the so-called "Basel School" of continuo playing, associated with Jesper Christensen and the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis.

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[27] The irony of this was certainly not lost on the students. As one of my colleagues put it in a rehearsal, "Playing these 17th-century pieces on 18th-century instruments feels like playing 18th-century music on modern instruments!"

Christensen has been an outspoken advocate of a full-textured accompaniment in the right hand for the most part, depending on the style; the doubling of fugal entries; and a consideration of a wide variety of historical treatises, written-out examples, and other sources.[28] Thérèse de Goede-Klinkhamer's teaching and publications tend to reflect this approach.[29] On the other hand is a school of playing which Ton Koopman characterized as the "Holland school", or a "flexible, decrescendo way of continuo", associated with himself, and by extension, Gustav Leonhardt and his other students.[30] By "decrescendo", Koopman is referring to the practice of varying the texture of the right-hand accompaniment in order to create dynamic effects. Advocates of the "Holland school" feel that Christensen and his followers play too loudly and base their argument on inferior sources;[31] advocates of the "Basel school" argue that a thin-voiced accompaniment is more characteristic of the Quantz and C.P.E. Bach approach, and the rules of these treatises do not apply to earlier and non-Germanic works. Both schools, in essence, claim to be interested in historical sources, but they disagree as to the relative appropriateness of one source over another.

De Goede-Klinkhamer, who had herself studied with Anneke Uittenbosch, Gustav Leonhardt and Ton Koopman, first began to systematically research continuo treatises in the 1990s as she encountered performance practice problems that she felt could not be explained by the rules for realization she had learned. She was surprised to find examples in both treatises and in Bach's own obbligato works that seemed to contradict the very "credos" of figured bass playing she had been taught, i.e., not to double the solo voice, not to rise above the solo voice, and not to play octaves above the bass.[32] Seen in this context, then, her courses are a systematic attempt to present harpsichord students an alternative to the "Holland school": they thus play an almost subversive function in the larger context of the Early Music Department.[33]

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[28] See Christensen 2002 and 1995.

[29] See De Goede-Klinkhamer 2005, 1997, 1996a and 1996b.

[30] Koopman 2004. I would place Bob van Asperen in this "decrescendo" school as well, but this is not ignore the fact that all three of these harpsichordists have *very* distinct and individual styles of continuo-playing. Additionally, Menno van Delft does not fit easily into either category: based upon my experience playing for his students in their continuo lessons, it seems that his approach falls somewhere in between the two.

[31] Koopman cited as an example of a problematic source the written-out, full-voiced realizations by Voß (Heering manuscript) of J.S. Bach works, along with Kirnberger's treatise. He felt these were not close to Bach, were intended composition exercises and not for playing, and were full of mistakes. I have also heard these examples discussed by teachers at the Conservatorium. The article in particular to which he was referring appears to be Bötticher 1994.

That basso continuo is a very important component of the Conservatorium's harpsichord program is evidenced by the fact that all students receive separate private instruction in continuo playing—in *addition* to these two-year courses.[34] With the retirement of Veronika Hampe in 2002, who had been teaching accompaniment to his students, Bob van Asperen began including continuo lessons in his Block as well. Harpsichord students prepare continuo examinations each June which are separate from their solo juries, and they are divided into three levels (A, B and C) according to ability and experience. They begin, for example, by learning to play the figures at sight (without written-out realizations), and by studying early 17th-century recorder works and instrumental sonatas or suites by Handel, Telemann, Marais and Hotteterre; "final" continuo exams typically include realizations of the Bach violin and flute sonatas.[35]

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[32] De Goede-Klinkhamer, personal interview (2000).

[33] The controversy over different approaches to basso continuo playing can also be tied in to the "turf wars" surrounding first the Amsterdam Lyceum merger with the Amsterdams Conservatorium in 1976, and then the Sweelinck Conservatorium/Hilversums Conservatorium fusion in 1994. Both Koopman (who had been teaching at the Lyceum) and De Goede (in Hilversum) were able to develop their approaches independently from the Leonhardt school in Amsterdam until the mergers forced all sides to have more direct contact with each other. De Goede-Klinkhamer credits the publication of her articles in refereed publications with helping her to gain more acceptance and respect. In this case, the publishing of scholarly work lent her a certain degree of cultural capital; other harpsichordists may acquire such capital through their pedagogical lineage (an association with Leonhardt, for example), or through the commercial and critical success of their recordings and live performances.

[34] Harpsichord students with whom I spoke in The Hague indicated that continuo instruction was far less systematic there, though it was a component of their regular lessons.

Not surprisingly, students tend to be caught in between the Holland/Basel continuo camps, particularly if they study with more than one harpsichord teacher. A colleague of mine, who was taking basso continuo classes with multiple teachers, actually brought different copies of the same piece of music to her lessons in order to keep their figurings, fingerings and other notations separate. On another occasion, I witnessed a student waiting nervously for about an hour for his continuo exam results while the teachers on the commission debated heatedly behind closed doors about his playing. Undoubtedly the exposure to such different philosophies and methodologies ultimately develops more flexible players, though students voiced considerable frustration about the current situation, and some became thoroughly disengaged from debates about historical performance practice altogether.

Similar conflicts about the role of historical sources in performance practice arose during the Early Music Department's special projects. For several weeks per academic year (usually the end of October, late November/early December, mid-February, and early April), regular academic courses were cancelled, and intensive classes, workshops and master classes were held around a particular theme.[36] Recent topics have included Bach flute and violin sonatas, the keyboard music of Froberger, operatic excerpts from Monteverdi, and the like. One February during the course of my studies, I participated in a project focusing on 18th-century sacred vocal music of France and Germany. My ensemble, which was rehearsing a motet by François Couperin, turned into a battle of wills between the project's director and various other competing sources of power. Chief among them was Boris, a Second Phase Baroque violinist. As the principal player on his part, he sought to assert his authority over the ensemble, and he and the director frequently argued over performance indications. Boris, despite his tremendous technical facility on the violin, had not been playing with a Baroque set-up for very long, and he was not particularly experienced with French Baroque music: during dance movements, he stated that we were playing with "too many accents"—and sought to remove them *all*, even on hemiolas! There was also a good deal of confusion regarding *notes inégales* and when or how they should be used—the teacher frequently exclaimed "Not *inégale*, not *inégale*!" even as we played passagework with consecutive running notes, without explaining the reasoning behind this.[37] When a guest teacher then arrived to coach the ensemble at the end of the week, he seemed puzzled by the "straightness" of our playing, and immediately requested that we put the *inégale* back into these passages. In many ways, this was typical of the Department's dealings with historical information, and the widely varying levels of background knowledge among the teachers and students. Ultimately, what sometimes transpired was that the person with the strongest personality and sense of leadership would take over the direction.

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[35] Note, once again, that Bach is at the top of the musical hierarchy—though students must demonstrate in a final exam the ability to accompany a variety of instruments and voice, and music of different historical and geographical styles.

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[36] The project-based system of instruction was first instituted by Jan van Vlijmen, former Director of the Royal Conservatory in The Hague, in the early 1970s. See Chapter Seven, pp. 353-54.

[37] I suspect that she was trying to avoid the stereotypical over-dotted regularity typical of 1970s performances of French Baroque music, but she was not expressing this idea clearly.

Thus, a continued debate simmers in the Conservatorium over the relative role the teaching of music history, historical performance, and other academic subjects should play in the Early Music Department, how they should be integrated into the performance curriculum, and which teachers are the most authoritative in this area. Some instructors found that the overall lack of interest by students in academic areas, such as Dutch language, treatises, and performance practice research, was regrettable. As Van Dael wryly noted, "the lazy mentality is not my ideal." When I asked her if she expected students to do a certain amount of independent reading, she replied:

> Hmm. <laughs> *Ja*, if I could knock them on their *heads*! Sometimes I would *wish* to do that, because when they have holidays, I say: You *read* now, when you are lying in the sun on the beach. You are going to read Boyden.[38] You are going to read Leopold Mozart and you are going to read Quantz. When you come back from your holidays, I'm going to—how you say that, *overhoren*?
> KR: Quiz?
> LvD: I'm going to ask questions about this, wanting to see if you have read them. Because I give these performance practice lessons, and sometimes I think, "What am I doing wrong?" because I have said this now so often in these performance practice—*Why don't they do it?* <laughs> *Why can't they—what's* wrong?

Asking students to read material voluntarily, then, did not seem to produce much response, though she had better results with assignments that were required, such as the research paper her pupils must prepare before their graduation recital.

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[38] Presumably the monograph by David Boyden (1965) on the history of the violin.

At the same time, still other students expressed frustration with the Conservatorium's lack of musicology offerings, which suggests that not *all* the Department's students are uninterested in music history and performance practice, but rather that they need better guidance and direction. Common complaints were that the school's library collection was far too small, that a course in Baroque dance ought to be offered to musicians, and that the history and theory teachers did not provide training in such basic subjects as bibliography and research skills. In the words of one recorder player:

> I mean, I appreciated having a university education before coming here because I do find it's all a bit—it's very performance-based, which is fine, but if you don't learn basic things like how to write footnotes or bibliography properly, then you're not gonna be taken very seriously in the future, I don't think. But…I just think there need to be some more theoretical kind of subjects….I got frustrated halfway through last year and decided I wanted to do some more serious musicology studies, maybe through Utrecht or something, but I haven't really done anything more about it. That's where Basel, I think, has a strongpoint. They're all much more research-based, the students.

Indeed, some students do attempt to fill in the gaps in their knowledge by enrolling in both the Conservatorium and one of the universities, either after graduation or concurrently.[39] But this conflict of "the intellectual approach" with the traditional performance-based conservatory education was a fundamental tension within the Department.

The Second Phase/Masters degree, in some ways, was intended to fill in some of these academic gaps. Indeed, the requirement that students focus on a specific research topic seems ideally suited to the historical performer. In practice, my experience has been that these projects were not as closely supervised as they might have been, largely due to understaffing and the newness of the program. It remains to be seen, as the Masters program is further shaped and given accreditation, whether or not these lacunae will be filled.

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[39] Some of the faculty have also taken this approach. Among conservatory instructors, Menno van Delft and Thérèse de Goede-Klinkhamer have studied musicology, and De Goede is currently completing her Ph.D at Utrecht University.

The Second Phase did, however, provide students with two extra years to develop, or to focus on different repertoire, such as Classical or early Romantic music.[40] For wind players, this means literally learning a second (or third) instrument, another key system, or the construction of different reeds in addition to familiarizing oneself to the style, which naturally requires time to master. And some students have used the time to pursue some interesting projects: some recent examples include a Baroque violinist, who translated a Spanish violin tutor; Aaron, the lutenist, also mounted a production of a little-known 17th-century dramatic work, complete with costumes and staging.

At the same time, the Second Phase might also be used by students to extend their schooling, thus avoiding the competitive marketplace (the so-called "warehouse function" of extended schooling[41]), or to prolong their stay in the Netherlands (if returning to their home country was perceived as less desirable from a career perspective). The case of one keyboard player was particularly remarkable, if not necessarily unusual. Prior to coming to the Netherlands, she had completed her undergraduate studies at a conservatory in her home country, then pursued a complete four-year First Phase diploma in fortepiano in The Hague. She then enrolled in the postgraduate certificate program in Amsterdam for two more years so that she could study both harpsichord and fortepiano, followed by the Second Phase for another two years. In her early thirties by the time she graduated, she had studied for a total of eight years in the Netherlands. In such cases, however, students persist in a state of "perpetual studenthood", a sort of limbo between the school and the market created by the post-World War II economy and education system. As Bourdieu described it,

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[40] For string players, especially violinists, Classical music was exclusively a Second Phase specialization.

[41] See Van der Ploeg 1993, 16.

> Everything takes place as if the new logic of the educational system and economic system encouraged people to defer for as long as possible the moment of ultimate crystallization toward which all the infinitesimal changes point, in other words, the final balance-sheet which sometimes takes the form of a 'personal crisis.' (Bourdieu 1984, 156)

This "final balance-sheet", as Bourdieu termed it, is the realization by the victims of diploma devaluation that they have been "overestimating the studies on which they embark, over-valuing their qualifications, and banking on possible futures which do not really exist for them" (155). Remaining in school delays the point at which a person has to acknowledge the lack of real economic opportunities afforded to them by their education. In short, the extension of postgraduate degrees to historical performance might represent a larger symptom of the changes the Classical music marketplace has undergone in recent years: increased competition for a dwindling number of jobs, compounded by the ever-increasing specialization and schooling required.

Modes of Instruction

The relationship between student and principal subject teacher is the most important aspect—and indeed the nucleus—of any music conservatory, and the Conservatorium van Amsterdam is no exception. In the Early Music Department, these relationships are shaped by two distinct instructional methods: the individual, private lesson, and the Block system. While weekly lessons are perhaps most characteristic of music instruction in North American conservatories, with master classes or projects held on occasion by guest teachers, some Early Music students in the Department receive most of their instruction in this master class format. In this respect, it is not just the use of period instruments and the engagement with historical sources which are the most significant innovations of the Early Music Department. Rather, the pedagogical method itself was meant to be a radical rethinking of the disciple-student and master-teacher relationship.

The group or master class instruction method in Amsterdam is known as the Block system. First begun in the mid-1970s by Walter van Hauwe, the Blokfluit Blok, as it became known, was a pragmatic means of accommodating large numbers of recorder students in a more effective teaching format.[42] The recorder Block is now led by Van Hauwe and his former student, Paul Leenhouts, and together, they teach some twenty-five to thirty students. In this regard, the Block allows a maximum number of students to be instructed through fewer teaching hours, and only two instructors.[43] The Block system has also been adopted by one of the two principal-subject harpsichord teachers, and the teachers of Baroque violin, Baroque oboe and Baroque trumpet.

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[42] See Chapter Seven, pp. 355-56. There are other models for a master class-based system of Early Music instruction, however. Gusta Goldschmidt, for example, described the lessons and *cours publiques* she attended in France as a former student of Wanda Landowska (Van der Klis 1991, 82-3).

According to the Block system, the teacher holds group lessons for students in a period of three to five days once a month. All lessons are public, and students are expected to attend the lessons of their colleagues as well. Sometimes, special group classes are held during Block to cover material of interest to all students, such as a session on reed-making, a particular theme or period of repertoire, Historical Documentation (which might include an examination of organography, iconography or an overview of treatises written for an instrument), or special events with a guest teacher. In between Block periods, students may also receive an occasional supplemental private lesson, depending on the teacher's travel schedule, if an examination period or important competition are imminent, or if extra assistance and feedback are required. During the "downtime" between Blocks, students are expected to work independently, preparing repertoire for their next lessons and attending other classes in their program. In practice, however, the Block system leaves students with a considerable amount of unstructured time, particularly for foreign students, for many of them have placed out of their academic requirements.

The Block system is a form of instruction which is quite unique to the recorder and historical performance programs, though as Van Hauwe (2004) noted, some of the other teachers in the Conservatorium are now beginning to adopt it as well. In part, the Block system is an effective way to accommodate teachers' busy travel schedules; by grouping lessons over a period of several days, an instructor can retain an active performance career and a teaching studio (or even juggle multiple teaching positions at different institutions), thus keeping a foot in the professional music world. As Alfredo Bernardini put it,

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[43] As I have suggested earlier, the Block system is one way the conservatory faculty and administration have adjusted to the significant budgetary constraints they have faced in recent years (see Chapter Seven, p. 360). The institution of group instruction coincides with the first wave of conservatory budget cuts and institutional mergers of the mid-to-late 1970s.

> …this allows me, also, to, to handle my professional concert activity which is something which is respected by the conservatory and which I appreciate very much because I think if you are a *performer* and a teacher, then you have more, probably more to offer to your students, because you are in strict contact to the playing, and then I think you have more to tell.

Likewise, the Block system also allows students to commute to Amsterdam once a month for lessons while maintaining their residence and musical contacts elsewhere in Western Europe. This is an option especially popular with Baroque violin and oboe students, many of whom are already working professionally in their home countries. The Netherlands' convenient placement on extensive train, high-speed rail and budget airline networks make this a plausible alternative to living in Amsterdam. A chronic shortage of student housing (the Conservatorium itself does not have residences), a high cost of living, and family concerns for the older, married student, can make the prospect of moving temporarily to the Netherlands unfeasible.

Aside from the fact that it accommodates the hectic traveling schedules of students and teachers, the Block offers several other advantages over traditional lessons. Walter van Hauwe remarked that he had modeled his own teaching system on the approach used by his colleagues in the visual arts; he felt that painters and sculptors developed pupils who were far more independent and self-reliant than most music students. As he put it,

> …a teacher in sculpture never will tell a student: "You have to sculpt *like that*" or "you have to shape a piece of wood *like this*." They only say, "Do…try to find out what you want to do." That's what you don't see in music. Because in music we are cloning, we are cloning opinions and tastes from the past….So that's the reason I think, if you have a chance every week to meet a teacher to solve your problems, it makes you lazy and it brings you away from being an artist. A teacher should be a person who is not solving problems but [one who] delivers problems, brings up new problems and checks the ability of the students to solve the problems. And *eventually* help [to] do that, but not in particular. So, I decided, they only may see me once a month, instead of once a week, so that they don't have a chance to ask me how to solve the problems—they have to try it out themselves…. If they ask me, "Can you explain something about whatever", I say, "No! Give a lecture next month about it, and figure out about the problem." So I don't give them the solutions, I tell them eventually where to find info, as they have to solve it first of all themselves. As in the real life.

Van Hauwe further noted that the objective of the Block system was to produce "very independent and [well]-developed and critical artists. Musicians also, but in the first place artists. That's my aim."

What is more, several teachers also felt that a different, more independent approach for Early Music students was necessary precisely because they are working with older, more mature students than the Conservatorium average. As Alfredo Bernardini noted,

> …when you're working with *adults*, then the reason of giving them lessons is [to] try to, you know, exchange information especially and you're not there to tell them to practice. Or at least you hope you're not there to tell them to practice which is something you need to do with children, for example. You need to build up a discipline with children. So this system of Block definitely would not work with children. And I must admit that sometimes it doesn't even work with the adults in the sense that some adults do need to have a kick sometimes, just to have the motivation to practice. But with many students, you realize that just seeing them for two days every two weeks, then you give

> them enough fuel or motivation or information to make them, you know, work with their own discipline for the next two weeks. I did establish that seeing them once a month, as some of my colleagues do, is a little bit too little. Especially because I would need to see them for four days in a row for—and then not see them for the rest of the month, and I find that after three days of classes, the—it's difficult for them to digest any other information. So I, for my classes, personally, I find that it's a good balance to teach once every two weeks.

Indeed, it was this greater sense of independence which many students also appreciated about the Block system, particularly the extra time to thoroughly prepare repertoire for their lessons. The concentration of classes over a short period of time in each month allowed some to double-enroll in more than one conservatory, or in university programs in musicology or literature. With the open master class format, students from The Hague and Utrecht could sit in on lessons in Amsterdam, exposing them to different ideas and teaching approaches; students from the Classical Department also attended Block classes on occasion, particularly during Bach, Mozart and Beethoven projects.

Still, opinions were divided among students as to the relative merits and drawbacks of the Block system. One concern that was raised is whether complex performance practice material can effectively be presented in such a short period of time, and if the resultant approach is overly superficial: could one effectively distill information from historical treatises and present it in a master class format? As one Baroque violinist who had studied in The Hague noted, his lessons were

> …more like, you know, when you go to a master class and the teacher just sort of sits there and listens to what the person did and sort of works with *that* thing right *there*. There was never anything like…you have this sort of set of etudes to do and this progression.

The lack of successive development and lesson planning, he felt, could especially be detrimental to students without a strong basic undergraduate training.

The Block system also meant a large presence of commuter students in the Early Music Department, which can undermine an overall sense of community in the program. It can be very difficult, for example, to organize chamber music ensembles, particularly projects involving string players. Chamber music is not formally organized by the school's administration, and the onus is on students to take the initiative in putting ensembles together.[44] Some Block teachers would organize joint projects (e.g., trumpet and oboe; harpsichord and violin; violin and oboe) which helped to create more interaction amongst groups in the Department.

Another problem is that the presence of two competing pedagogical systems in the Department sets up a certain divide between those who participate in a Block, and those who do not. Apart from the recorder, and the violin, oboe and harpsichord, most of the Department's other subjects are taught via individual lessons, on a more-or-less weekly or bi-weekly basis. In some cases, students have had the option of either studying in one of the Blocks or privately. Because students within their own Block spend such a concentrated amount of time among one another, and tend to socialize amongst themselves, there is a tendency to forge a stronger sense of community within the Block itself, rather than the Department as a whole. There has also been a sense among students on the outside of this system that they are somehow looked down upon by others in the Department. When I asked one student if his colleagues from both studios tended to socialize or attend one another's concerts, he replied:

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[44] Veronika Hampe, an instructor of viola da gamba and basso continuo, organized chamber music projects until her retirement in 2002, but participation was mostly voluntary.

> No. They are of course not unfriendly, not at all. But you can't really speak about one ***** department or one ***** class.[45] You really speak about the department and two classes. There is the class of A***** and there is the class of B*****. And of course many projects and lessons, etc. mixed but there was very much the feeling—I got it at the very beginning when I arrived—very much the feeling of the…class of A***** is unconditionally the best one. That's the *star* class. That's the class [of] the star students—they're all automatically much better and stuff because they study with a famous teacher, the class is larger, you know, they come from all over the world and all over Europe, at least, because of the Block system they can easily have like quite an extensive freelance, whatever, work, beside which was never possible for us, really, because we had to be in Amsterdam most of the time for our lessons. But of course I also realized quite quickly (well, maybe not the first semester, but after maybe a year or so) that there are very good players in B*****'s class, and there are very bad players in A*****'s class. That's just how it is. And not all the students of A***** is automatically good just because they happen to go to his class. And he, of course, has a bunch of really good and exceptional students—every now and then, not all the time—but then of course, the class has to be filled out with also the more sort of normally talented students.

In this respect, the sense of hierarchy among students was something which was reinforced very subtly, but nevertheless felt as real.

Within the Blocks themselves, students often spoke of a strong feeling of camaraderie, but there were also hints at a tense and competitive atmosphere. Collegiality was evinced by the Block members, for example, who would often host commuting students overnight, or by the end-of-Block socializing and drinks at a local bar after the final concert. First-year students spoke admiringly of more senior members of the Block, and how they served as role models. Thus, Michelle described the atmosphere within her group as:

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[45] The instruments here and in the following passages have been camouflaged to protect the speaker's identity.

> ...Very, very special. I think I was really lucky at the point in which I studied, because in my first year, there were only two new students, so there were six older colleagues to sort of look up to and learn from, some of whom were outstanding players....There was the occasional bit of rivalry, but really very friendly, helpful atmosphere.

At the same that Michelle speaks of a certain amount of bonding between Block students, that "occasional bit of rivalry" could sometimes flare up, particularly during periods of stress, such as *voorspeelavonden* or exams. One recorder student did not hold the teachers responsible for such tensions, noting that, "I don't think they mean to bring on any competitiveness that arises; it seems to just come from the students—[they] just get a bit annoyed with each other!" This competitiveness tends to arise in part because the Block system tends to shift the focus in the pedagogical system from the student-teacher relationship to the relationships among the students themselves. Because of the constant pressure of performing in front of their colleagues, students tend to rank themselves by seniority and ability. This tends to undermine the Block's purported goal of developing independent artists, in that the atmosphere itself encourages students to continually compare themselves to one another.

In other ways, however, the master class system tends also to draw attention to the teacher and to highlight his or her authority as a central figure. For one thing, the fact that many students had traveled a considerable distance (literally halfway around the world, in some cases) specifically to study with a particular teacher lent him or her considerable authority.[46] Moreover, the connection of the master teachers with the renowned pioneer generation of Dutch Early Musicians also lent them credibility—even if a teacher was a "generation removed" from this group, they were nevertheless connected by lineage;[47] so, too, might aspiring students hope to connect themselves to such esteemed musical forebears.

Secondly, some students suggested that the foregrounding of the teacher's central role within a master class could lead them to take advantage of their power over their pupils. As one student cautiously observed,

> I also saw a lot of friends that just didn't work out for them. Because some people indeed need a bit more love <laughs>....It also depends very much on the teacher itself. Because the teacher has to be—such a system is a very good system to bullshit the student. Student comes with a question and the teacher perhaps answers: you have to think in the air, crossing this room and these things. You know? When you get those kinds of answers, in a month, in a second month, in a third month, perhaps the student can get totally lost. So that's why you really need quite a reliable person that gives you the right information when you need it.

Another noted that the increased internationalism of the Conservatorium in recent years had substantially helped the atmosphere, by providing a better mix of personality types and cultural backgrounds. Still, he remarked,

> I think the, the boo stories about the atmosphere are not true anymore. At least, or at least not anymore in that extent. Of course there are always people

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[46] Kingsbury makes a similar point regarding master class teacher Marcus Goldmann (1988, 86). What is remarkable, however, about the "Dutch Baroque" pioneers is that they cannot directly link themselves to a direct and continuous performing tradition stemming from the 18th century, as Kingsbury's own piano teacher asserted his pedagogical connection to Beethoven (1988, 46). Their authority comes primarily from the commercial and critical success of their public performances and recordings.

[47] For example, Walter van Hauwe was a student of Frans Brüggen; Bob van Asperen was a student of Gustav Leonhardt. Their reputation was further solidified by their own successes performing, recording and touring, though their connection with the pioneer generation remains paramount, both in their official biographies printed on program notes and CD liners, but also in the collective knowledge of students and Early Music aficionados.

> who are competitive. But I've never the feeling that is in—yeah, sometimes, of course, it remains conservatory. Sometimes you get that feeling. I mean, trying to charm the teacher and stuff, that doesn't do any good to the atmosphere. But especially some chicks, you know...but that happens in any institute and, and...but I think in general the atmosphere is, is ver—is really good.

One might suggest here that the lopsided gender ratio between male teachers and an overwhelmingly female class of students might exacerbate what he describes above.

In any case, what the students describe above indicates that the master teacher is still very much the central focus during the Block, despite the pretext of developing independent-minded students. The tension between the individual-group dynamic and the authority of the master teacher are especially highlighted during public performances, not only the exams as described above, but even the more "low-pressure" situations such as the student concerts, or *voorspeelavonden.*

The *Voorspeelavond*

In many ways, the *voorspeelavond* (literally, "performance evening", or student concert) is a ritual which, like the final exam, tends to highlight both the collegial and the competitive behaviours among Conservatorium students. For Block students, the *voorspeelavond* represents the culmination of the week's activities: performers typically present a more polished version of the piece they played during the lesson period, with the implication that they will have incorporated the teacher's suggestions and directives. Most Block students will play every month, but not everyone is able to perform on every recorder concert because there are simply too many students.[48] Thus, being selected to play in the recorder *voorspeelavond* is more of a special privilege than a routine performance experience.

In addition to the Block *voorspeelavonden*, individual teachers will also hold concerts for their studios. Some will on occasion host these concerts in their own home, affording students the opportunity to play on their personal collections of keyboard instruments and in a more relaxed, *gezellig*[49] atmosphere. Some courses, such as Thérèse de Goede-Klinkhamer's basso continuo and treatise classes, also present *voorspeelavonden* from time to time, and there are general Early Music *voorspeelavonden* as well, usually once a month. These Departmental concerts tend to feature students outside the Block classes (often because there are not enough of them in one studio to form an entire concert program).

Voorspeelavonden are open to the public and, as such, are advertised in the Conservatorium's monthly agenda, on its website, and on the television monitors placed in the lobby and the canteen; students also make colourful posters which are tacked onto the school's bulletin boards. As well, they are listed in Amsterdam's monthly "out guide" or performing arts events magazine, the *Uitkrant*.[50] While this advertising may attract some outside audience members, by and large, these concerts are primarily attended by Conservatorium "insiders": the teachers, members of the administration and direction (for example, the head of the Early Music Department), and most especially the Early Music students. Some students in the Classical Department may attend as well, particularly if they are performing on the general Early Music *voorspeelavond*—but in general, they tend to remain quite independent.

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[48] In recent years, an extra "*lunchconcert*" was added to the recorder Blocks, giving more students the opportunity to perform. The evening concert, however, is still the marquee event, and tends to feature the more senior students and polished performances.

[49] This word does not have a direct translation into English, but is roughly equivalent to pleasant or sociable (in the context of an evening among friends), or cozy and comfortable (i.e., a neighbourhood café).

[50] The agenda is also available on the *Uitkrant* website at www.uitkrant.nl.

On the surface, the atmosphere in the Early Music *voorspeelavonden* appears to be casual—most are held in the Andriessenzaal, which does not have a podium and is sometimes used as a classroom; students tend not to wear formal concert attire or dress up at all; and on some occasions, there may not even be printed programs (let alone program notes). The relaxed appearance of the concert is belied by the behaviours of the students themselves, however. Michelle, the oboist, believed most students dreaded these *voorspeelavonden* performances:

> I have had other people comment, and agree with me, that there was something very intimidating about the *voorspeelavond*. And I can't really put my finger on what the problem was, because the people were nice enough!

Indeed, she "never got over the fear of the *voorspeelavond*", and I had once found her in tears in the hallway after one of her performances. Not surprisingly, many students displayed the physical characteristics of this fear and tension, such as a stiffness of posture, a lack of eye contact with the audience, shaky hands, rapid, shallow breathing, and other classic signs of performance anxiety. At one keyboard *voorspeelavond* I attended, this anxiety was especially acute; it was more visibly a pressure situation given the presence of a guest master teacher visiting from

Germany, and other prominent keyboard players in the audience,[51] and the fact that the concert was held in a high-profile venue outside the conservatory, the Engelse Kerk.[52] Among eight harpsichordists performing on this concert, four admitted to me that they had taken beta blockers prior to playing in order to control their symptoms of anxiety.[53] Although their use is controversial, such drugs are commonly used by Classical musicians during high-stress performances such as auditions, recitals and important solos.[54] If a number of Early Music students had turned to historical performance as an alternative to the competitive and stressful Classical music mainstream, the use of such anxiety-reducing medications in the Department is a clear indication that these stresses are now commonly felt in the Early Music world as well.[55]

Certainly, much of the anxiety students feel when performing is from the pressure they put on themselves, for many musicians are perfectionists and extremely self-critical. One indication of this tendency for self-critique was the row of digital MiniDisc recorders lined up in the Andriessenzaal during a typical *voorspeelavond*.[56] The back of this hall has a small staircase leading to a balcony, and each step would be covered with microphones and recorders set up to "capture" the performance. The discs were used on occasion as demo material for competitions and concert series, but mainly for one's own documentation, comparison, critical analysis and self-evaluation.[57] Nearly everyone I encountered in the Department owned one (including myself), and used it frequently. Again, it is one of the great ironies of the historical performance movement that, while Early Musicians eschew modern instruments in favor of antique copies, they have been quick to embrace—and even fetishize—the latest digital technology to record, analyze and circulate their performances.[58]

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[51] Gustav Leonhardt himself often attended harpsichord student concerts and projects, though I do not recall if he was there on this occasion.

[52] An historic English Reformed church in the Begijnhof, by the Spui.

[53] Beta blockers such as Inderal (propranolol) are prescription medications prescribed to control hypertension and other cardiac conditions, but they are occasionally prescribed to musicians to diminish sympathetic nervous system reactions to anxiety, such as shaking hands, racing heartbeat and nausea. Many musicians obtain them without a prescription, however (i.e., from friends), but they can cause serious side effects when used improperly and when combined with other common medications. In addition to the four harpsichordists mentioned above, I am aware of at least one other Early Music student who routinely used beta blockers during concerts and examinations.

[54] A 1987 survey conducted by the International Conference of Symphony Orchestra Musicians found that more than one in four members had used beta blockers during a performance (cited in Tindall 2004), though current figures are probably much higher now that the anti-anxiety effects of these drugs are better known. See also Kingsbury (1988, 136-7) for a brief treatment of the controversy such medications may arouse among conservatory musicians.

[55] In my experience, students did not discuss beta blocker usage openly with their teachers, but this is not to say that the Conservatorium ignored the issue of performance anxiety—quite the contrary, in fact. Weekly Feldenkrais classes were available to all students free of charge, a Mensendieck teacher was on staff for student consultations, and Alexander Technique classes were available to voice students. There was also a Stage Presence class open to all Second Phase students which covered relaxation techniques and other means of coping with playing-related stress.

If this obsession with recording might be characteristic of students' extreme self-critical tendencies, there were also aspects of the Conservatorium environment itself which tended to exacerbate this, and which made the *voorspeelavond* seem like more than "just" a concert. For one thing, the presence of administrative staff at some concerts underscored their importance. I often noticed the Director of the Early

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[56] The MiniDisc recorder, invented by Sony, was by far the recording equipment of choice for Early Music Department students. Affordable, easy to use, small and portable, they produce digital recordings on small, inexpensive discs which, unlike analog tape, can be re-recorded dozens of times without loss of quality. The one drawback, however, is that digital-to-digital transfer (i.e., burning onto CD) is nearly impossible without professional equipment and loss of data.

[57] Cottrell (1998, 98-99) also discusses the role of CD recording and production in assessing and developing an ensemble's conception of sound.

[58] For more on Early Music's fascination with technology, see Chapter Three, pp. 85-86 in regard to instrument copying and reconstruction; see also Chapter Six, pp. 233 (compact disc) and pp. 305 (Super Audio CD).

Music Department taking notes and putting them into students' files; this made it clear that these performances were also being evaluated, just like an exam.[59]

Orchestral performances or the final *voorspeelavond* at the end of a project week tended to be far less informal than more routine Block or general Early Music concerts because they were usually held in more public venues, and had more outside audience members present. Gustav and Marie Leonhardt, for example, were known to attend historical keyboard and violin projects (just as they would sometimes be invited to adjudicate students' exams), and their presence would cause a stir among students. On these occasions, the discourse of professionalism would surface once again. One January, during the dress rehearsal for a project on French *airs de cour* in the Bachzaal, the final run-through was interrupted by one of the teachers, who began to criticize students' "unprofessional" behaviour, in particular the manner in which they walked onto the podium and their behaviour on the stage, and the instrument cases they had left strewn around the hall; then he ordered students to tune their instruments offstage and not right before they began to play. The speech, which a number of participants interpreted as paternalistic, was, at the same time, astonishing to them: attention to stage presence was rarely, if ever, formally addressed in the Early Music Department.[60] The proscription against tuning onstage was particularly surprising, since this is a routine practice for mainstream Classical musicians prior to beginning a performance.[61] Not only that, the idea of immediately beginning a piece without tuning, testing the temperament, warming up one's fingers and setting the mood is entirely foreign to many non-western traditions, such as Indian classical music (for example, the playing of ālāp before a bhajan in Hindustani music). Moreover, it certainly does not correspond to 17th- or 18th-century performing practice, where, in French, Italian, Spanish and German traditions, it was common to begin a performance with a *prélude*, *toccata* or *praeludium*.

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[59] On one occasion, a harpsichordist received a letter from the direction shortly after a less-than-ideal performance on a *voorspeelavond*, giving her a warning that she would likely fail her *tentamen* in a few months if she did not show marked improvement. Of course, these evaluations are not all negative: on the contrary, they help to "thicken" student files, and provide a more nuanced view of progress than one end-of-year jury can reveal.

[60] Indeed, it is not particularly a hallmark of Dutch musicians' stage personae in general. When I saw Gustav Leonhardt and Bob van Asperen perform in recitals, they hurried on and off the stage, and did not even acknowledge the audience. Likewise, an American recorder player who had studied in The Hague commented that, "I find student and professional musicians in Holland to be very conscious of

The equation with tuning and "unprofessionalism" was also part of the recorder Block ethos, and I had been told that it was absolutely forbidden to tune on stage during their *voorspeelavonden*. This was confirmed in my conversation with one student:

> Student: I think stage performance is also a, a really—thing of the Block.
> KR: Like how you—your stage comportment?
> Student: Yeah. *Don't ever tune on stage!* It's a sin! Don't bother the audience with your problems.
> KR: That's a little problematic if you play gamba, and you have 7 strings!
> Student: That is a different—that is a different thing and you can tune between pieces. But then, how do you do that? The, the typical—I mean, the thing which is horrible is that you play so loud, they play so loud this drone, and then you're, at the audience you're like, "You're playing so nicely" and then for tuning they play fortissimo because they can't hear the amount of things if they play soft. That's unprofessional!

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technique and sound and even musical expression, but oblivious to their relationship with the audience….It was a special treat when my teacher [Marion Verbruggen] made eye contact with the audience and even smiled during the bow" (Cantor 1999, 17).

[61] Of course, one ought to tune as efficiently and rapidly as possible, but *not* tuning period bowed and plucked string instruments—which quickly go out of adjustment—seemed indeed a strange request. On rare occasions, I have seen modern wind players begin a recital without tuning. However, unlike a modern piano, it is rare for a harpsichord to retain a stable tuning and temperament, particularly given fluctuations in temperature and humidity.

Thus, the rituals surrounding the performance itself—not just a musician's tone, phrasing or technical ability—took on a heightened importance. The magnification of *tuning* as the primary element of good stage presence, however (as opposed to, say, posture, eye contact, bowing, music stand placement, etc.), seems particularly arbitrary. It is tempting to suggest one possible reason for this: insecurity about intonation continues to be a sensitive subject for Early Musicians, and one for which they are constantly critiqued by mainstream Classical players. If playing out of tune is unquestionably "amateurish", perhaps tuning on the stage unnecessarily draws the audience's attention to the intonational instability of period instruments?

In any case, the post-concert activities of students and faculty were just as important as the pre-concert behaviours. After almost every *voorspeelavond*, performers and their friends in the audience would often go out for drinks in a café across the street, which, despite the uninspired food and irritable waitstaff, was a well-known hangout for Conservatorium students. Not surprisingly, copious consumption of alcohol was used to diffuse the evening's tension. What was notable, however, is that teachers would often come as well, a fact which again seemed to attest to the Department's casual and laidback atmosphere. However, this was regarded by students with a mixture of curiosity and trepidation: this was often the moment when teachers would give their students feedback on their performances, in a typically direct and forthcoming manner. While this kind of critique might be perceived by foreign students as overly blunt, it is entirely characteristic of Dutch teachers to address their students in this manner: the intention is to be as straightforward, honest (and ultimately as helpful) as possible. In this view, using euphemisms, or "beating around the bush" to describe a problem in a student's playing might be perceived as confusing or even patronizing.

For recorder players, especially, the post-*voorspeelavond* critique was the most dreaded (and at the same time most anticipated) period of the Block. This evaluation session—like the announcement of final exam results—is public, and is held on Friday mornings, after the Thursday night concert and post-Block celebrations.[62] On one occasion I observed, all the recorder students were crammed into the back rows of the hall. The first three rows of seats were entirely empty, leaving a large unfilled space at the front of the room for the two instructors. Walter van Hauwe and Paul Leenhouts go over all the performances of the previous evening, one by one, often giving notoriously harsh or, as one American recorder player put it, "brutally honest" commentary.[63] Most Block members were fairly circumspect when I asked them how they felt about these critiques. As Jane put it,

> It can be quite competitive! Oh, it's a funny system of lessons over four days, and two concerts, and then we get critiqued the next, on the Friday from each person from all the concerts, from—Walter and Paul provide feedback in front of everybody. Which can be, ah <laughs> nerve-wracking! But it's, I mean, it's usually constructive, and…in some ways you just get used to it and deal with it and if you can cope, if you can handle it, it's fine…. it's usually o.k. But it makes you really want to find what you're doing and do it—sort of—with confidence. I mean, you really have to be sure of what you're doing by the end.

Certainly, such an intense environment does help students to play with conviction, to take criticism in stride (perhaps even with a little self-deprecating humour), and to develop a thick skin—without a doubt something they will need in order to cope with the highly competitive marketplace they will face upon graduation. At the same time, however, the public critique session demonstrates how very important and central the teacher still is in this process, and the physical position of the students in the room reveals a fear of, and continued deference to, authority figures, an attitude in palpable tension with the Block's goal of development of independent artists.

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[62] Recorder players will come to the critique session even if they have not played the previous evening. In other words, the critique session is a sort of performance in and of itself.

[63] See Schat Hillebrand 1999.

The anxiety about critique from the administrators and faculty was an omnipresent undercurrent at all Departmental performances. Still, more than anything else, students expressed an intense fear of what other students thought of their playing. During one Early Music *voorspeelavond*, a viola da gambist became visibly rattled when one of the CvA "star" Baroque violinists entered the room in the middle of her performance; they had once played together in one of the Department's projects, and the violinist had made it clear that she did not think the gambist's skills were up to snuff.[64] There were rarely overt signs of hostility among the students, but tension could be felt nonetheless in very subtle ways.

On another occasion, during my fourth year of study, I had gone to listen to an American friend perform on a Baroque oboe *voorspeelavond*; although she was a Second Phase student and already quite an accomplished player, she was relatively new to the Block. Afterwards, as everyone was packing up their instruments and gathering their music, she came up to me, worried, and asked, "Was it o.k.?" I contemplated for a moment, and replied that I thought she had played well, but that she had seemed a little stiffer and more tense than usual. Suddenly I understood why she felt so uncomfortable: none of the other students in the Block were congratulating each other or commenting on their colleagues' performances—or, really, saying anything at all! And neither was I—I, too, was reproducing this same silence she had found so disconcerting.

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[64] This is not to say that the violinist was purposely trying to distract her—but rather that the gambist *imagined* this to be the case, and that this was enough to cause her to lose her concentration.

This silence or aloofness was not at all typical of my experiences performing in studio recitals or master classes in Canada and the U.S. My other American and Australian colleagues studying in the Dutch conservatories at the time agreed with me on this point—we were all explicitly taught to give feedback to each other after student recitals, both positive and constructive. Sometimes this behaviour could come across as superficial or fake, particularly in a very competitive studio. By contrast, the relative silence among students after the *voorspeelavond* relates to the Dutch cultural prioritization of honesty and forthrightness noted above (see p. 152-53).

At this moment, however, I realized how very enculturated I had become in the Conservatorium's environment by adopting these "post-*voorspeelavond*" behaviours myself. Indeed, it was precisely the very silence of one's colleagues which was so intimidating about the *voorspeelavond*—as Michelle remarked, laughing, "You sort of don't know what they're thinking! Of course that shouldn't matter, in theory…". But indeed it *did* matter—the silence was a void in which one could only imagine the judgments of other students (because one had been, in turn, silently evaluating *them* during their performances). It was a non-verbal form of communication which effectively revealed the internalization and reproduction of the teacher's critique.

The *Tentamen*

The *tentamen*, or end-of-year jury, was the Conservatorium's formal evaluation and check on a student's progress.[65] Unlike the *eindexamen* (final exam), it was almost always held behind closed doors, and there was little attempt to disguise the examination by turning it into a recital or concert.[66] The examination room would be empty, save for the committee, which would sit in a row behind a table several rows back, taking notes as the student played. While commissions during the final exam might also sit behind a table, it was often pushed further back so that the audience might camouflage it; on some occasions, the jury members would be dispersed around the hall. Like the empty rows of seats in the recorder Block critique session, the exam table had the net effect of dividing the room into two distinct areas—the "authority" side and the "performer/student" side.

After the exam, the student would be asked to leave the room while the jury conferred. Usually this took between twenty and thirty minutes, though on some occasions, this could last nearly an hour. The student would then reenter the room and the chair of the commission (usually the Department head) would present the results and commentary. The chair would act as a sort of foreman, providing a distillation of everyone's comments: remarkably, in spite of the sometimes disparate personalities on the committee, there was an emphasis on presenting a consensus to the student.[67] It was rare for other members of the jury to speak at all, even the student's own teacher (though they usually give feedback to the student later in private). The student would receive a form with a summary of the results, with generally one or two remarks per teacher.

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[65] In some cases, "check-up" exams were held in January and February for some students, but these were not universal.

[66] Again, this likely relates to the concept of honesty and straightforwardness described above.

The *tentamen* commissions acted not only as the standard bearers for the Conservatorium, but also served as the gatekeepers to career advancement within the Early Music world, for example by promoting a student to the next level or year (by no means unconditional), granting permission to take the final exam, or allowing or denying access to the Second Phase. In practice, this evaluation process was somewhat mysterious to students: the minimal playing standards, repertoire lists and criteria for promotion and the determination of exam grades were not explicitly defined in the Conservatorium's catalogue and study guide, or other materials. In fact, the HBO-raad, in its 2001 independent evaluation of the Dutch conservatories, specifically cited the CvA's insufficient and unsatisfactory *eindtermen* (final attainment level) guidelines:

> The commission believes that the final attainment levels [i.e., graduation criteria] are not always concretely formulated. Thus, for example, what is meant by "professional level" is not concretely described, nor are the required knowledge, skills, insight and attitude for this term always well formulated

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[67] In this respect, the exam committee can be viewed as a microcosm of the political system known as consociationalism, first described by Arend Lijphardt (1975). Under this kind of organization, power is shared between minority groups as cooperation and accommodation between them is essential to achieve political stability.

> and clarified. The commission recognizes the fact that for a number of matters, actual criteria cannot be defined—artistry, for example. Still, the final attainment levels could be more concretely and verifiably formulated, and with more regard for the ideal of transparency in the profession. (HBO-raad 2001, Vol. B, 10)[68]

The HBO-raad also faulted the Conservatorium for the lack of clarity regarding the entrance requirements for the Advanced Study program (11). What is most striking from the passage above, however, is the HBO-raad's specific citation of "professional level" as a vague and mystified term in the Conservatorium's discourse.

In any case, if the commission felt that a student was not making adequate progress, he or she might be asked to leave the Conservatorium midway through his or her studies. Sometimes, there was little advance warning that such a dismissal was likely to occur.[69] Rumours about students who had failed their *tentamen* spread quickly through the Department, and added yet another undercurrent of tension during the exam period. Still, this was not necessarily a death knell for their musical career: while some students would move on to another profession, others would simply return to their home countries and continue to play regardless. It was also not at all uncommon for students to "conservatory hop", by transferring between The Hague, Amsterdam and Utrecht—or even Brussels—if they were forced to leave one institution or were denied access to the Second Phase. With another teacher and in another environment, they might achieve greater success, more rapid improvement, and forge better career connections.

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[68] *De commissie is van mening dat de eindtermen niet altijd even concreet geformuleerd zijn. Zo is bijvoorbeeld niet beschreven wat 'professioneel niveau' concreet inhoudt en wordt de benodigde kennis, vaardigheden, inzicht en houding niet altijd goed verwoord en geëxpliciteerd. De commissie onderkent het feit dat een aantal zaken niet in feitelijke criteria is te beschrijven, met name artisticiteit is daar een voorbeeld van. Toch zouden de eindtermen concreter en toetsbaarder geformuleerd kunnen worden en met meer inachtneming van de geventileerde visie op het beroep.* See also Chapter Seven, p. 390.

[69] In part, the Block system can exacerbate this lack of communication because students and teachers have less regular contact with each other.

Post-Conservatorium Life

The first few years following an Early Music student's graduation from the Conservatorium are crucial. This is the period during which musicians try to convert all the forms of capital they have accrued during their conservatory years—cultural, social, symbolic and musical—into economic capital. To what extent do their considerable investments in education and social networking pay off? How are young musicians able to make a living in the Netherlands' highly competitive and overcrowded marketplace?

Despite the Conservatorium's emphasis on professionalism, there is little concrete or systematic approach to helping students launch their professional careers. This was generally done on an informal, individual basis between teachers and their students, but career planning and placement was not a constituent component of the curriculum.[70] Students and teachers alike noted that there were very few formal auditions in the Early Music world, and that personal relationships with other musicians (i.e., social capital) were vital for breaking into the scene. Most musicians first obtained work either by organizing their own chamber music concerts, or because a teacher or colleague hired them as an assistant or replacement. Thus, in the Dutch Early Music scene, there are obvious parallels to the "deputy system" used among London freelancers described by Cottrell (2004, 57-76)—but it is particularly common for teachers take on their own students as these "deputies". As Friedemann Immer noted, when he feels his students have achieved a good level of playing, he will take them to play concerts with him to get professional experience, or he will pass on gigs to them. As their teacher, he was familiar enough with their abilities to know which student was able to handle a particular piece of music.

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[70] In other words, pragmatic issues such as c.v. writing, concert planning, grant writing, auditioning, or how to obtain chamber music concerts and orchestral work were not formally taught.

The Conservatorium can provide other social networks as well. Sometimes, performing in one of the Early Music Department projects could help students make connections. Not surprisingly, many students formed ensembles during their conservatory studies with which they would later perform professionally—beginning, for example, with the fringe concerts of the Utrecht Early Music Festival and other festivals abroad. Other kinds of networking might involve the teachers and administration themselves. When a colleague and I were organizing a Telemann concerto project, for example, and trying to recruit string players, I was able to convince a number to play—without pay—simply by mentioning that my teacher would be coaching the orchestra. Because he had his own ensemble and frequently hired young string players from the Conservatorium for his own recording projects, this proved to be a lucrative draw.[71]

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[71] Indeed, the investment of rehearsal time paid off for two violinists, whom he later hired to play in his own projects.

Other informal connections include alumni from institutions in the students' home countries—for example, there is an extensive network of Oberlin Conservatory graduates in the Netherlands, which itself has a well-established historical performance program. Fellow "Obies" often perform together in chamber music concerts, pass on orchestral work, or help new students to get settled when they arrive in the Netherlands. Students often form similar networks among native speakers of the same language, or their country of origin.

Some students, particularly string players, are able to establish their contacts more independently of the conservatories. One violist, for example, sent her c.v. to all the major ensembles in her area, and was fortunate that one orchestra happened to need string players at the time. From this lucky break, she was able to make contacts with several senior musicians and orchestra fixers, and got on their call lists. Within four years, she had played with all the major Early Music ensembles in her home country.

The flood of cantata concerts in 2000, the Bach anniversary year, also meant a banner year for freelancers, with increased opportunities for Julia and also Philip, another string player. Like Julia and most other Early Musicians, he remarked that he'd never auditioned for work—it had all been obtained through word-of-mouth. Many of his important contacts came from playing St. Matthew Passion gigs with the Holland Boys Choir, notoriously referred to by freelancing Early Musickers as the "Screaming Boys". During the 1999-2000 season, he made a number of cantata recordings with this ensemble, which were later marketed by Joan Records in the

Kruidvat drugstore chain.[72] One of the string players in this production happened to be the principal second violinist of Anima Aeterna, the Belgian period instrument orchestra, and soon he was playing regularly with this ensemble.

The "Passion season" in the Netherlands was thus a crucial period during which Early Music students could not only earn some income and cut their teeth on major repertoire, but also connect with more senior musicians in the field. As Philip observed,

> …there's such a big choral tradition here in Holland that the *Matthew Passion* and *B Minor Mass* and *Die Schöpfung*, [it's] really common to do these things and there's a demand for it and you know, orchestras just popped up to fill the demand. But the nature of this kind of thing is that the standard isn't going to be very high. So—yeah, you're not going to get the Orchestra of the 18th Century to be accompanying some amateur choir.

These freelance orchestras, known as *begeleidingsorkesten* (accompaniment orchestras), are often made up of a mixture of amateur and professional players. He noted, however, that the presence of these gigs meant that one could speak of *two* Dutch Early Music scenes: the top professional orchestras such as the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra and the Orchestra of the 18th Century, and the smaller church and choir accompaniment orchestras. While some students, like Philip, were gradually able to move up from the *begeleidingsorkest* gigs into more professional ensembles, "there's a little bit of overlap, but not very much" between the two. As he put it,

> …in Holland I think there's, the big groups, say, um…you know Amsterdam Baroque and the Orchestra of the 18th century and Bachvereniging, they're all quite closed. But in—outside Holland, there's lots of opportunities and I know students who are now, you know, playing in England and Belgium and

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[72] See Chapter Six, pp. 306-7.

> Germany and so on. I think it's easier to break into the scene outside of Holland.[73]

The lack of ability for young musicians to break into the upper echelons of the Dutch Early Music scene is disturbing, however. The Raad voor Cultuur, in its subsidy evaluations for 1996, even cited the Orchestra of the 18th Century for its ageing corps of musicians and the lack of turnover in the ensemble.[74] The repetitiveness, low pay and poor playing standards of some of the *begeleidingsorkesten* can also wear on young musicians.[75] Moreover, it was more difficult for wind players than strings to break into even the lower-tiered orchestras since there were fewer gigs requiring winds overall, and more competition for the little amount of work available.[76] Some conservatory musicians, then, have difficulty in truly capitalizing on their degrees and social connections.

There was also considerable anxiety among many young Early Musicians about the decreasing orchestral work available, particularly in light of government cuts to music ensembles in the past few years and the financial troubles in the recording industry. Julia, for example, pulled out her diary to show me the diminishing number of her work engagements over the past few years. In 2000, the "Bach Year", she had roughly nine months' steady work; this had decreased to seven months for the next two years, to less than six months for 2003, and by mid-2004, already considerably less than that. It was disturbing to her that string players—the core component of an orchestra—were now having trouble finding work. She was considering refreshing her skills on her modern instrument and planned to take some orchestral auditions in hopes that this would afford her more gig opportunities. Philip felt that, in many ways, pursing 19th-century repertoire presented more interesting possibilities for future chamber music and orchestral projects, rather than Baroque music. A number of other conservatory students with whom I spoke did not have concrete plans for the next coming years—except for further study.

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[73] Note the parallels here with Claron McFadden's experience described above: both found it easier to get more professional Early Music work and recognition abroad at first.

[74] See Chapter Six, p. 279.

[75] Another string player, for example, who had participated in the "Screaming Boys" gigs during the Bach year noted that he'd suffered from depression and gained 20 kilos from the stress and long working hours.

[76] One professional traverso player, for example, happened to run into his former teacher a year after graduation. He was shocked at his teacher's suggestion that he learn to play the viola since there was so little work for winds.

Epilogue

In many ways, Early Musicians in the Netherlands find themselves in an enviable position in relation to the pioneering generation of some thirty years ago. Broader debates about authenticity in performance and turf wars with modern musicians about repertoire have calmed down considerably (though both continue to simmer under the surface), and Early Music has successfully claimed its position of legitimacy within the conservatory. There are numerous indications, however, that significant and disconcerting problems have arisen as Early Music has wholeheartedly embraced the institutional structure of the conservatory—issues of which administrators, teachers and students alike are only partially conscious, though they have a profound effect on the practice of historical performance as a whole.

For at least the past fifteen years, critics have observed a tendency for historical performers to produce "a homogenous Early Music style", as Laurence Dreyfus put it (Kerman et al. 1992, 114). In other words, they apply a formulaic approach to articulation, phrasing, vibrato and tone colour to *all* the music they perform, regardless of historical style (though he singles out Bach, Mozart and Beethoven in particular). "It is as if", Dreyfus observes, "Early Music no longer wages a struggle against the stultifying effects of conservatory training but substitutes its own recipes for suspending creative thought" (115). He blames the rise of this "degraded Early Music style" on large institutions, particularly the rise of period instrument orchestras, greedy recording companies, and even musicologists themselves for busying themselves with petty debates about trivial details (115-16). I would suggest, however, that while these institutions are partly to blame for this uniformity of style and standardization, he is overlooking one of the principal sources of the problem: the "stultifying effects of conservatory training" itself.

Likewise, Richard Taruskin asserts that too often, Early Musicians adopt period instruments as both a crutch and a license to relinquish the artistic decision-making process. The result is the same homogeneity of playing which Dreyfus despises:

> Hence the tendency to escape from freedom into certainties too easily adopted and worn. Blind submission to authority—whether it takes the form of unreflecting obedience to one's conservatory teacher (whose authority stems from *his* teacher, and so on) or reliance on "original instruments," and other historical hardware—is the usual method nowadays for evading the responsibility of choice and decision. Today's truly authentic interpreters of music of the past (whatever the vintage of the instruments they play) are the

> ones whose styles owe the least to generalized precept and the most to acute, personal, and highly specific observation. (Taruskin 1995, 303)

He draws a parallel between conservatory students who unquestioningly imitate their teacher's authoritative model, and Early Musicians who unthinkingly assume that using period instruments grants their performances authority as a matter of course. But what kind of performances result when these same students are combined with period instruments *and* authoritative conservatory teachers?

As I hope I have demonstrated above, the Conservatorium's Early Music Department reproduces many of the very same institutional structures as the Classical Department, and thus its students tend to reproduce the very same kinds of performances as the Classical musical mainstream—exactly what it had purported to challenge. It is the conservatory system itself, then, which is at least partially responsible for the homogenous, uniform (and even boring) Early Music performances decried by Dreyfus, Taruskin and other critics.

At the same time, the teachers themselves reject this kind of cultural reproduction, or this "cloning opinions and tastes from the past", as Van Hauwe put it, and instead seek to produce "independent artists". Likewise, Lucy van Dael also did not appreciate the copying of her example:

> *Ja*, there is one thing that worries me also, is this: that if all the old music scene wants to stay alive and be a really guide for in musical life, then it—it is so utterly important that younger people don't just copy us pioneers but that they *really* investigate everything. That they take nothing for granted, that they read, that they get informed, that they investigate. And that they realize that there is not *just one way* <hits table to emphasize> of performing something.

The Block system in particular was intended to challenge the kind of "copying" of the teacher which occurs in the traditional conservatory teaching system. There are two main problems which can occur with this teaching methodology, however. Firstly, the authority of the instructor, and their social and cultural capital (acquired through recording and touring, critical success, and even their degrees and teaching position itself), lends a strong sense of credibility to *their* "way of performing something". This authority makes the musical interpretations of the teacher an attractive model to students, regardless of the pedagogical system they employ.

Secondly, the hierarchical and authoritarian nature of the Block system does not tend to encourage experimentation or innovation. As one student observed,

> By the time you get to postgraduate in E*****, it's, it's much more collegial. Now of course your teacher has a huge amount more experience and much more knowledge than you do, but you're not treated as a child, and you're not treated as an inferior human being because you're studying. It's much more guidance onto a different level of playing. Whereas here, from my experience and what I've seen, it's not. It's much more dictatorial, it's more the all-seeing, all-knowing teacher, and the small pupil who shouldn't really argue too much and should just accept what is said by the greater knowledge or something. Which I didn't find particularly helpful.

Students thus fear the very real repercussions of disobeying the administration or challenging the teacher, such as the possibility of failing an exam, or being denied work opportunities. In classical music, and perhaps *especially* in Early Music, where most of the work opportunities are made through personal connections (often through the teacher) and not through anonymous auditions behind a screen, it is extremely imprudent for students to be too unconventional or rebellious.[77] There is a certain amount of "toeing the line" or "acting normal" which is necessary during the student years, and it is only after a musician has established his or her career—and achieved some degree of financial security—that more musical experimentation can take place.

Lastly, the anxiety many teachers profess about their students replicating their musical ideas, and their espousal of original, individual interpretation, is in many ways a very Romantic concept (and it is, ironically, Romanticism in music from which Early Music practitioners have long sought to distance themselves). As Löwy and Sayre have argued, this subjectivity represents a response to the homogenization of market forces promoted by capitalist societies:

> The Romantic exaltation of subjectivity—wrongly considered as the essential feature of Romanticism—is just one of the forms taken by the resistance to reification. Capitalism gives rise to independent individuals who can carry out socioeconomic functions; but when these individuals evolve into subjective individualities, exploring and developing their inner worlds and personal feelings, they enter into contradiction with a universe based on standardization and reification. And when they demand that their imagination be given free play, they collide with the extreme mercantile platitude of the world produced by capitalist relations. In this respect, Romanticism represents the revolt of repressed, channelled, and deformed subjectivity and affectivity. (Löwy and Sayre 2001, 25)

Seen in this light, then, the Early Music movement itself could be interpreted as another expression of "Romantic anticapitalism". Early Musicians, then, adopt these ideals of artistic subjectivity as an attempt to resist the standardizing, replicating tendencies of the culture industry.

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[77] Here I would disagree with Ellen Koskoff's assertion, in her largely negative review of Kingsbury's conservatory ethnography, that teachers are not "all-powerful" within the confines of this institution and in determining the career prospects of their pupils, and that the students have more agency and "personal responsibility" than Kingsbury would have us believe (Koskoff 1990, 313-14). Certainly, minor acts of rebellion do occur on occasion, and teachers and students will argue with one another over points of interpretation. However, in the Dutch conservatories, it has been my experience that students have little power to challenge the overall institutional structure and the status quo—or, at least, most of them have been unwilling to do so. One exception is the lawsuit against the Conservatorium described in Chapter Four, p.61, but this legal action was pursued after the student's graduation.

Such an interpretation, and indeed the critical stance toward Early Music that Dreyfus and Taruskin represent, offers a challenging alternative to the conservatory-shaped model of cultural reproduction through the copying of authoritative models.[78] Despite the broadly historical perspective of this critique, however, it provides little sense of how Early Music actually attained its position in the classical music world, nor how the particular features of its educational system developed. The preceding account, admittedly limited to my own perspective as a student at one institution, is one attempt to provide some of that specificity. The reminder of this study seeks to broaden and historicize that account by investigating how, in one particular country, Early Music came to occupy a particularly prominent musical and educational position.

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[78] It perhaps goes without saying that this rejection of copying as a pedagogical tool is not at all a universal value, and that the imitation of the teacher (or recording) is often used as a means of musical transmission in both formal and informal learning situations, and in traditions as disparate as jazz and rock, Indian classical music, Javanese gamelan, Bulgarian bagpipe playing and the Suzuki method (see Rice 2003 for a summary).

CHAPTER FIVE

THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE EARLY MUSIC MOVEMENT IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1900-1980

In Nederland zijn eigenlijk drie kwesties heilig: de koningin, voetballen en Bach.
In the Netherlands, there are really three sacred matters: the queen, football (soccer) and Bach.

Rob van der Hilst, *Een engel uit de hemel*

Introduction: The Dutch Passion for Bach and the Baroque

Toward the end of the 19th century, an impressive concert event took place in Amsterdam, one which would prove to be something of a watershed in Dutch musical life: on April 8, 1899, Willem Mengelberg conducted the Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra in a performance of Johann Sebastian Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* in Amsterdam, together with the Amsterdam Toonkunstkoor and a boys choir. Mengelberg's conception of the Passion was a grand one: not surprisingly for the times, he employed a large orchestra, and a chorus of some 450 singers, in addition to five soloists. Moreover, little attention was paid to historical fidelity: the program book and contemporary reviews indicate that large cuts were made to the score, and modern instruments, including a large Romantic-style organ, and a piano for the recitative accompaniment, were used (Giskes 1999, 30).

In some ways, this particular *Passion* performance might have been rather unremarkable. After all, Felix Mendelssohn's initial *St. Matthew Passion* revival had taken place long before, on March 11, 1829, and the resultant fervor and interest in Bach's music it inspired throughout Germany (Haskell 1996, 14-15; 22-5) certainly had not gone unnoticed in neighbouring countries. Mengelberg's was not the first performance of the *St. Matthew Passion* in the Netherlands: that had already taken place twenty-nine years earlier.[1] Nor was it even the first performance of the *Passion* with the Concertgebouworkest (which had been established not long before, in 1888).[2] Sporadic performances of Bach's passion music had been put on in the Netherlands on several occasions in the last quarter of the 19th century, so the concert-going public would have had at least a passing familiarity with it.

What *is* remarkable, however, is that the twenty-eight-year-old Mengelberg managed to establish the 1899 *St. Matthew Passion* performance as something more than a mere historical curiosity. It became instead the first of an annual Passion performance tradition, taking place on or around Palm Sunday, which he himself conducted until 1944—a tradition which still continues to this day, though in a form substantially modified from Mengelberg's debut. Indeed, the Passion season has become a veritable institution in the Netherlands, having spread from the Concertgebouw to other, rival, performing groups, notably the Nederlandse Bachvereniging (established in 1921, it also began annual *Passion* performances in 1922[3]), to the several hundred performances now put on annually throughout the country—impressive for a tiny country of some 16 million inhabitants! By now, the phenomenon has spawned countless radio and television broadcasts, recordings, several books (e.g., Van der Hilst 2000, Schmidt 1999, Schmidt 1988) and even educational websites.[4]

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[1] The first performance of the *St. Matthew Passion* in the Netherlands took place on April 22, 1870 in Rotterdam (Van Driel 2000, 29), and was conducted by Woldemar Bargiel, a stepbrother of Clara Schumann (Wennekes 1997, 8). Bargiel conducted subsequent performances in Rotterdam on April 14, 1871 and April 19, 1872. The first performances in Amsterdam took place on March 27 and April 28, 1874, with Johannes J.H. Verhulst conducting the Toonkunstkoor Amsterdam. Further Amsterdam performances took place in 1878, 1881, and 1883 (Van Driel 2000, 29).

[2] Steffen (1999) provides a complete list of the Concertgebouworkest's Bach passion performances. Prior to Mengelberg's direction, the following performances took place: the *St. John Passion* was presented in Leiden on January 25, 1889 and in Amsterdam on April 16, 1897; the *St. Matthew Passion* on April 25, 1891 (Amsterdam), April 27, 1893 (Haarlem), April 6, 1895 (Amsterdam), April 21, 1896 (Leiden), and March 23, 1898 (Leiden).

The resiliency of the Passion tradition that Mengelberg established in the Netherlands is altogether astonishing, particularly in light of the fact that Bach's own historical connection with the Dutch is altogether negligible. Bach never even visited the Netherlands during his lifetime, and there was little performance tradition of his music there until the end of the 19th century; moreover, unlike the Germans, the Dutch have few connections with the Lutheran church, though the Dutch Reformed church may share some common beliefs and liturgical practices with it.[5]

In short, Mengelberg effectively invented a performance tradition in the Netherlands (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992), or rather, he co-opted an essentially

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[3] Ironically, the Bachvereniging for years employed members of the Concertgebouworkest to fill its orchestra.

[4] See, for example, http://www.bach.nl, http://bach.pagina.nl and http://www.j-s-bach.tmfweb.nl/frameoverzicht.html (Accessed January 6, 2003). The latter site is associated with Joan Records/Brilliant Classics' budget CD Bach recordings, which have been sold at Kruidvat, a leading Dutch drug store chain, in association with the Bach anniversary year 2000.

[5] The distinctions between the Dutch protestant churches have become less pronounced in recent years. As a case in point, on May 1, 2004, the Protestant Church in the Netherlands formed a conglomeration of three former churches, the Netherlands Reformed Church, the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Kingdom of the Netherlands. See http://www.protestantchurch.nl/ (Accessed 2 March 2006).

German musical tradition, and then succeeded in reinventing it, making this annual performance ritual seem at once entirely normal and customary to the Dutch, and also deeply rooted in *their* past. Within a relatively short period of time, Eastertide Passion productions came to seem *so* "normal" that both the Concertgebouw and the Bach Vereniging still continued their annual performances during the Second World War (with the exception of 1945), and the tradition came back stronger than ever in the post-war era—despite the horror of the German occupation from 1940-45, considerable anti-German sentiment after the war, and even Mengelberg's own banishment from the Netherlands for suspected Nazi collaboration.

As Eric Hobsbawm has observed, "Inventing traditions…is essentially a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition" (Hobsbawm 1992a, 4). The manner by which the Passion tradition took root in Dutch society, however, amounts to something far more complex than an annual repetition on Palm Sunday. A survey of a century of Passion performances shows significant changes in performance practices, revealing how Bach's seminal works have served as a barometer of the Dutch public's musical taste. Most significantly, there have been changes in the musical text itself (e.g., a move from abridged *St. Matthew Passion* performances to complete productions, beginning with the Nederlandse Bachvereniging in 1929), a reaction against Romantic performance traditions (e.g. by reducing the orchestral and choral forces, and later by changing performance techniques such as eliminating vibrato), and a gradual move from the use of modern instruments towards the inclusion of harpsichords, Baroque organs, and recorders, to finally the employment of specialist conductors and orchestras consisting entirely of historical instruments (Wennekes 1997, 1999). That the Passion tradition has survived is doubtlessly due to its continued flexibility and adaptability to current trends—including, most recently, the cross-marketing of concerts, CD sales and concert tickets via the Internet and Kruidvat, a drug store chain.

Most important to the survival of the Passion tradition in the Netherlands, however, has been the community of Bach enthusiasts, musicians, and—later—the specialist Baroque performers that the Passions would inspire. In this regard, *St. Matthew Passion* would become something of an exceptional work amidst a generalized revival of interest in Bach's music. The rivalry between the Concertgebouw and the Nederlandse Bachvereniging stimulated competitive attempts by their respective music directors to trump the other, in order to attract ever larger audiences to their Passion performances. Usually, as noted above, this involved a gradual move towards greater textual fidelity and the employment of historical instruments. Efforts by conductors to show greater respect towards Bach's score and his purported compositional intentions proved to be good marketing strategy, for changing performance practices, particularly to the instrumentarium, are faithfully reported by reviewers in contemporary press reports. This increased exposure would only benefit newly-trained specialists on historical instruments, who began to appear in the Passion productions, beginning in the 1920s. Harpsichords, for example, were first employed by Mengelberg in 1921, and the Bachvereniging followed suit in 1924

(Wennekes 1999, 104). The recorder made its first appearance in the *St. Matthew Passion* in a 1938 production put on by Bachvereniging, which did much to raise its profile and to increase its status as a "serious" instrument.[6] After World War II, the Passion solos were played by Joannes Collette and Kees Otten, who would become two of the first professional recorder players in the Netherlands, and highly influential teachers (Van der Klis 1991, 44). When the cellist Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp played, for the first time, the viola da gamba solos in the *St. Matthew Passion* for Bach Vereniging's 1929 production, he did much to increase the visibility of this instrument.[7] Van Leeuwen Boomkamp would become one of the pioneers of the Dutch Early Music movement, experimenting not only with the gamba but also the violoncello piccolo, and historical bows and bowing techniques (Van der Klis 1991, 55-64; 163). It is scarcely an exaggeration to state, then, that the Passion tradition has proven to be the major stimulus behind the remarkable growth of the Early Music movement in the Netherlands, and both developments would tend to reinforce each other.

This account of the Passion tradition in the Netherlands thus far will resonate with readers familiar with the Bach revival elsewhere in Europe, particularly in 19th-century France (Ellis 2005) and England (Jones 1998, Pascall 1992, Young 1976).

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[6] The comments made in *De Wereld der Muziek* by Marie Veldhuyzen, one of the featured recorder players in the 1938 performance, are especially telling: "By neglecting the distinction that Bach makes between both types of flutes, one undoubtedly replaces a possibility for tonal nuance, which, in the end, one would probably be reluctant to miss, as has already now been seen, for example, with the gamba sound heard in both the tenor and the bass arias in the second part….We are grateful to Anthon van der Horst [director of the Bachvereniging] for having dared to carry out this experiment, and we hope thereby that attention will be fixed on the recorder—which has still too often been considered as exclusively a children's or folk instrument—in general and for the performance of Bach's works in particular" (Veldhuyzen 1937-38, cited in Van der Klis 1991, 44; the translation is my own).

Indeed, like the Dutch, the English and French had no direct historical or cultural connection with this composer; nevertheless, Bach's music became a significant part of the choral and instrumental repertoires in these countries, particularly the Passions, the B minor Mass and the keyboard works. As Antoine Hennion and Joël-Marie Fauquet observe, performers and audiences in 19th-century France

> ...snapped up Bach from among the dusty bookshelves filled with old masters. They took and transformed him into a contemporary, at first not as a composer, but as a kind of repository of superior musical laws that each lover of music would have to learn and apply in his own way. This accounts for all of the copies, the parodies and works composed 'in the style of . . . ' This is how they rendered Bach audible, providing him the same level of appreciation with which they heard the pieces of their own time so that, little by little, Bach came to represent not only a reference for them, an old master, a monument in the shadow of which stands the music of the day, but an altogether 'contemporary' composer. (Hennion and Fauquet 2001, 76)

In this regard, Bach had effectively transcended his Germanic origins; by the end of the 19th century, the rhetoric promoting his music asserted its universal appeal.[8] Moreover, the Easter Bach Passion tradition is certainly not unique to the Netherlands; similar performances take place annually in northern European, Protestant countries.[9]

Still, even considering the generalized interest in Bach's music in the Netherlands' neighbouring countries, the Dutch public's adoption of Bach as their

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[7] Prior to this date, the solos had simply been omitted (Van der Klis 1991, 42).

[8] Ellis, considering the reasoning behind Bach's growing popularity in late 19th-century France, notes that "Bach ultimately trumped Handel in the last two decades of the nineteenth century…in perceptions of his profundity, his subtlety, his variety of mood, and his old-fashioned Romantic isolation from the compromises entailed in carving out a career in the musical marketplace" (Ellis 2005, 237).

[9] Ellis observes that the de-Protestantizing of Bach's image in predominantly Catholic France (for example, by demonstrating the "universally Christian" value of his sacred music) played a significant role in increasing his popularity (Ellis 2005, 111, 236). Indeed, it could be argued that a similar

surrogate national composer, their resultant fascination with Baroque music and their particular interest in historical performance seem all the more surprising when one considers that the Netherlands had relatively little 18th-century music of its own to revive. That is to say that while the Netherlands was an important center for music publishing in the 18th century, and while it also supported an active concert life, there is almost no canon of *indigenous* Dutch Baroque composers—save Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621), and Pietro Antonio Locatelli (1695-1764), himself an Italian expatriate. The revival of interest in the music of Sweelinck could be connected to a larger collective Dutch nostalgia for the Golden Age, which remains a strong component of the Netherlands' identity—both in terms of a national consciousness, and in how the tourism industry markets the Netherlands abroad. As the historian Niek van Sas has observed,

> The miracle of the Golden Age dominates and overshadows Dutch history. The eighteenth century was increasingly painfully aware of its inability to come up to the standards of the seventeenth. The long nineteenth century was held together by the memory of the Golden Age as a national myth. Even in the Second World War it was able to offer a measure of consolation. As recently as the year 2000, to mark the 200th anniversary of the Rijksmuseum, the Netherlands National Museum, the organizers came up with a large exhibition on "The Glory of the Golden Age," as the cultural capital on which the Netherlands could still draw. The new flourishing period around 1900 was later sometimes called the Second Golden Age, while the upbeat economic climate of the close of the twentieth century is already being characterized as the Third Golden Age. (Van Sas 2004, 50)

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process took place in the Netherlands in the 20th century, for performances of Bach Passions, cantatas and other works are frequently performed even in the southern, Catholic Dutch provinces.

While this national mythology of the Golden Age explains to a certain degree the Dutch interest in historicism and in restoration,[10] the link to J.S. Bach still remains distant at best. By contrast, revivals of Baroque music elsewhere in Europe could be linked more concretely with nationalist movements, which could account for increased public interest in Bach, Handel and Telemann in Germany; Rameau, Couperin and Lully in France;[11] and Purcell (or the adopted émigré Handel) in England.[12]

Nevertheless, despite the paucity of "authentically Dutch" repertoire, the revival of Baroque music made tremendous gains in the Netherlands, particularly after World War II. Between 1950 and 1970, the audience for Baroque music mushroomed, and the proportion of Baroque music on Dutch concert programs nearly *quadrupled* (Beijer and Samama 1989, 116). By the mid-1970s, the Netherlands had positioned itself as one of the leaders in the Early Music movement, particularly through its ground-breaking use of historical instruments on the concert stage and in recordings. As a case in point, the first period-instrument performance of the *St.*

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[10] In this regard, the Early Music movement in the Netherlands has some important parallels to the heritage movement in England. See Butt 2002, 172 and Chapter Six of this dissertation (p. 276-77). The harpsichordist Gustav Leonhardt has also been an important spokesperson for the restoration of 17th-century Dutch buildings. See, for example, his book on the Bartolotti House on Amsterdam's Herengracht, built in ca. 1617 (Leonhardt 1979). One side of the building is Leonhardt's current residence, while the other half is open to the public as a museum. A photo of the house and one of an interior detail, credited to Leonhardt, are also included in Simon Schama's book *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (Schama 1991, 312, 315). See also note 23 below.

[11] Lully, while of course Italian by birth, has functioned since the 17th century as a surrogate French composer. In particular, I am referring here to the revival of interest in the music of the *ancien régime* in the 1870s, inspired by anti-Wagnerian (and anti-German) sentiment. See Ellis 2005, 123-46. This is not to deny the problematic reception of these works with the French public, but the political and nationalist sentiment stimulating the revival was nonetheless significant.

Matthew Passion in the Netherlands on 30 March 1973 has been characterized as the "defining moment" for the Dutch Early Music movement in a recently-published music history textbook on the Low Countries.[13] By this time, the Dutch could boast of prominent soloists and specialist conductors, such as Frans Brüggen and Gustav Leonhardt; internationally-recognized conservatories, which offered specialized instruction on historical instruments; and a vibrant, cosmopolitan concert scene filled with the programming of pre-1800 music.[14] How had the Dutch arrived on centre stage?

The Netherlands and the Global Early Music Movement, 1900-1940

Even recognizing the prominence of the Dutch passion tradition, the rapid growth of the Dutch Early Music movement during the post-war era requires some explanation. It is especially remarkable considering that, prior to World War II, the role of the Netherlands in the international Early Music revival had been marginal, at best. At that time, efforts to revive the music of Bach and the Baroque in the Netherlands were mainly grassroots affairs, or localized, and did not attract much international attention. Indeed, in the late 19th century, and in the first few decades of

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[12] The Purcell revival was part of a broader increase of interest in early English music, including madrigals, evensong and virginal music, which dates to the Victorian era. See Haskell 1996, 36; Jones 1995 and Hardwick 1973.

[13] See Van der Klis 2001.

[14] See Leonhardt 1976 for an early appraisal of the Dutch Early Music scene during the 1970s, and Van der Klis 2001 for a more recent one.

the 20th, the major developments in the Early Music movement and the leaders in the field were mainly centered in England, Germany, and France (Haskell 1996, 26-64). Not coincidentally, it is these very three neighbouring countries which had long exerted a dominating cultural influence on Dutch artistic life (De Swaan 1997, 79). While the Netherlands remained largely in the shadows of the major Early Music events taking place just outside its borders, it would most certainly be affected by them.

In England, the ground-breaking efforts of Arnold Dolmetsch to revive early instruments attracted many followers (Haskell 1996, 26-43), though his direct influence in the Netherlands appears to have been minimal. His publications on the interpretation of 17th- and 18th-century music, however, and his championing of the recorder in particular, were certainly familiar to Dutch musicians (Van der Klis 1991, 22). After the Second World War, the Haslemere Festival and the activities of Dolmetsch's family members, in particular those of his son Carl, appear to have been more widely known in Holland.[15]

More influential still were the first period-instrument soloists and ensembles, many of whom made touring stops in Amsterdam, Utrecht and other Dutch cities in the 1920s and 30s. By far the most important of these were the Polish-French harpsichordist Wanda Landowska, the Casadesus family's Société des Instruments

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[15] A report on the activities of Carl Dolmetsch appears in *Mens(ch) en Melodie*, a post-war publication on musical life in the Netherlands (Veldhuyzen 1946); in addition, Dolmetsch himself contributed an article to this journal (Dolmetsch 1946). Dolmetsch apparently also gave a workshop in Utrecht after the war (see Van der Klis 1991, 108-9), which had a strong impact on Kees Otten, an important champion of the recorder after World War II (Luxenberger 1997, 158). Janny van Wering, one of the

Anciens, and Safford Cape's Pro Musica Antiqua, the Renaissance and Medieval music ensemble based in Belgium.[16] Landowska (1879-1959), one of the first keyboard virtuosos to specialize on the harpsichord, was perhaps the single most important champion of her instrument in the first half of the twentieth century. Her frequent concert tours to the Netherlands would inspire many Dutch musicians to take up the instrument, including Gusta Goldschmidt (1913-2005), who later studied with Landowska and became one of the first professional harpsichordists and lutenists in the Netherlands (Van der Klis 1991, 82-6), and Hans Philips (1904-1984), who was active as an amateur performer on the harpsichord (ibid., 89). So highly regarded was Landowska in the Netherlands that several retrospectives and a memorial marking her death were published in *Mens en Melodie* during the 1950s, despite the fact that she had not performed there for some time.[17]

Other early harpsichordists performing in the Netherlands include another Frenchwoman, Pauline Aubert, who was the first harpsichord teacher at the Amsterdams Conservatorium. She taught there for two years at the end of the 1920s,

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first Dutch harpsichordists, had also studied in Haslemere with the Dolmetsch family (see Van der Klis 1991, 85).

[16] Landowska made several concert appearances in the Netherlands. For the Amsterdam *Concertgebouw-Kamermuziek* series, she performed a program of chamber music by Handel, Mozart, Bach and Rameau on October 10, 1924 and a solo recital of Bach's *Goldberg Variations* on March 23, 1935 (Concertgebouw 1960, 72, 87). The Casadesus family performed in the Concertgebouw on December 11, 1926, and again, as the *Société des Instruments Anciens*, on November 1, 1930 (Concertgebouw 1960, 77, 82). Van der Klis (1991, 22) notes that Pro Musica Antiqua gave concerts in the Netherlands, though she does not list the dates or venues; mentioned only is a performance for the Utrecht University Collegium Musicum Ultrajectinum after 1938 (35).

[17] Wouter Paap's (1952) article on Landowska updates the Dutch reader on her activities during and after the war. Two additional articles appeared the year of her death: one, by her former student Annie van Os (1959), noted Landowska's upcoming eightieth birthday; another (Althoff-Loubère 1959) was a personal reminiscence followed by a death announcement. According to Paap, Van Os became a music pedagogue based in Zeist; she is also the dedicatee of a Berceuse for piano composed by Louis Andriessen, part of his seven-part work *The Memory of Roses*.

and her pupil, Janny van Wering (1909-2005), was the recipient of the first harpsichord diploma issued by a Dutch conservatory (Van der Klis 1991, 81).[18] Van Wering would later teach harpsichord at the Koninklijk Conservatorium in The Hague after the war. Another early keyboard specialist, Erwin Bodky (1896-1958), also taught harpsichord at the Amsterdamse Muzieklyceum from 1933-38.[19]

Also of note was Alice Ehlers (1887-1981), a German pupil of Landowska, who concertized frequently in the Netherlands. Her pupil, Hans Brandts Buys (1905-1959), performed regularly on the harpsichord in the 1930s and 1940s, organized concerts, and was himself an important pedagogue. He taught harpsichord at the Amsterdam Muzieklyceum in 1938, after Bodky's departure, and, later, at the Rotterdam Conservatory (1949); moreover, he was also well-known through his publications, in particular editions of early music, essays on Bach performance practice, and analyses of Bach's works. Also active as a conductor, Brandts Buys specialized in the music of Bach and directed a number of (mostly amateur) ensembles, including the Utrechts Studenten Koor en Orkest. As the conductor of the Toonkunstkoor in Arnhem, he continued the tradition of annual performances of the *St. Matthew Passion*, begun by his father (Marius Adrianus Brandts Buys)in 1923 (Van der Klis 1991, 65-80; Ten Bokum 2001).

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[18] After Aubert, Richard Boer was appointed the harpsichord teacher at the Amsterdams Conservatorium, (Van der Klis 1991, 81). Boer apparently taught in Amsterdam until Gustav Leonhardt was appointed in 1954, except for a brief period at the end of the war, when he was replaced by Janny van Wering. I have been unable to locate further documentation on Boer and his teaching practices, though by the 1940s his playing technique was already perceived as old-fashioned (see Van der Klis, 87-8).

[19] Both the *Amsterdams Conservatorium* and the *Muzieklyceum* were predecessors of the present-day Conservatorium van Amsterdam.

Not surprisingly, Germany exerted by far the strongest influence on Dutch musical life, and on its Baroque music revival in particular. From the Germans, the Dutch acquired not only their fascination with J.S. Bach, but also an interest in historical musicology, the pursuit of communal music-making—both instrumental (the Dutch equivalent of *Hausmusik* is *huismuziek*) and choral—as a leisure activity, and even musical instruments such as recorders and harpsichords.[20] The development of musicological, professional and amateur music associations during the first decades of the 20th century would lay the groundwork for the veritable explosion of Early Music activity that occurred in the Netherlands after the war.

German musicologists, to be sure, did much pioneering research into historical performance practices and in compiling editions of early music, putting some of these ideas into practice in the university-based collegia musica (Haskell 1996, 54-6). Likewise, the Dutch established the Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis (Royal Society for the History of Netherlands Music)[21] in 1868 as a subsection of the Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst[22] (Society for the Promotion of Music, est. 1829); this is effectively the oldest surviving musicological society in the world (Von Gleich 2001). The KVNM's work to promote the music of the Low Countries included the publication of editions, especially of Dutch and

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[20] For more on the activities of German musicologists between the wars, the preparation of scholarly and performance editions, and the *Hausmusik* movement, see Potter 1994.

[21] The society has changed names several times, acquiring the designation "Koninklijke" in 1993. See Von Gleich 2001.

[22] Hereafter referred to as "Toonkunst".

Flemish music works from 1500 to 1700, and a scholarly journal.[23] However, the first musicology department in the Netherlands, the Instituut voor Muziekwetenschap of the Universiteit Utrecht, was not established until much later, in 1930[24]—despite the fact that the Toonkunst had been lobbying for musicology instruction there since 1875 (Samama 1986, 89). The department's first chair, Albert Smijers (1888-1957), also revived the University's Collegium Musicum Ultrajectinum in 1938 for the performance of historical works (Van der Klis 1991, 35).[25]

The German influence on Dutch musical life can also be noted in the growth of the choral singing movement in the Netherlands. By the mid-19th century, the exponentially-increasing number of choirs and choruses in Germany reflected rising interest in communal music-making among the middle and working classes; similar trends can be observed throughout Western Europe. As such, the Bach revival formed an important component of this choral movement. The first German Bach societies were established soon after the foundation of the Bach Gesellschaft in 1850 and its publication of the first volumes of Bach's works. Other societies soon sprang up in London in 1849, in Paris in 1904, and eventually in Spain, Italy and Belgium as well (Haskell 1996, 15, 27, 59, 204 n. 20), with the Netherlands' own Bachvereniging being a somewhat later addition in 1921. The repertoire of most such choral societies for amateurs focused on *a capella* "early" music, especially that of Bach, Handel, Palestrina and their contemporaries (Haskell 1996, 23-4, 59).

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[23] The connection of these musicological activities to a Dutch reverence for the Golden Age is clear. See page 177-78 above.

[24] Musicology was first taught at the University of Amsterdam in 1929, by Karel Ph. Bernet Kempers (a student of Adolf Sandberger in Munich), and it was added to the curriculum in Leiden in 1932 (Van der Klis 1991, 35).

[25] The Collegium Musicum Amstelodamense (est. 1935), despite its name, did not have much in common with the German or Utrecht university collegia. Though it specialized in a capella music, its repertoire expanded from Renaissance polyphony to include contemporary works. Moreover, it also sought to improve performance standards by using professional singers, and it gave frequent radio appearances and concert tours (Brautigam n.d., 35, Paap 1975). A brief note in an issue of *Mens en Melodie* mentions a Collegium Musicum Leeuwarden, established in 1934, and modeled on the Casadesus family's Société des instruments anciens (*Mens en Melodie* 1953); it does not appear to have had any university affiliation.

The Toonkunst in particular played a major part in fostering the growth of choirs and choral societies in the Netherlands. During the course of the 19th century, it established choirs and music schools in the major Dutch municipalities, and also lobbied to have music instruction included as a compulsory part of primary school education. It succeeded in so doing in 1857 (Samama 1985, 11). Through the efforts of the Toonkunst, music-making became a pursuit not only for highly-skilled professionals, but also for a broad base of Dutch *burgerlijk* (bourgeois) society. By the late 1950s, the Netherlands boasted more than 1,800 choirs, comprising some 200,000 singers—and this figure did not even include church choirs (Brautigam n.d., 34)![26]

The growth of the historical instrument industry in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s would also have an impact in the Netherlands, particularly on the Dutch amateur music societies and on its music education system in general. Following the First World War, German instrument manufacturers pioneered the mass reproduction of early instruments such as lutes, viola da gambas, harpsichords and—in particular—

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[26] An estimate from 1989 gave a figure of about 250,000 members in 3,000 choirs (Beijer and Samama 1989, 171). It is not clear from the context whether the 1989 numbers also include church choirs, but it is still a rather high degree of choir participation for a society which, at the time, had a population of 11 million in the late 1950s, and about 14.8 million in 1989.

the recorder.[27] By producing and distributing affordable instruments especially designed for the growing numbers of amateur music enthusiasts, they did much to increase the popularity of historical instruments. Likewise, the publishers Bärenreiter and Moeck produced numerous editions of early music and instrument instruction manuals to complement this market (Haskell 1996, 58-9). Many such instruments, books and music editions were also exported to the Netherlands—in fact, it was Bärenreiter who manufactured the first recorders ever used in a Dutch *St. Matthew Passion* performance (Van der Klis 1991, 44).

Just as in Germany, the recorder became enormously popular among Dutch youth, amateur and folk ensembles. It particularly appealed to the socialist youth group the Arbeiders Jeugd Centrale (AJC, Workers Youth Movement, est.1918), which had modeled itself on the German *Wandervögel* and youth movement societies (Vos 2001; Van der Klis 1991, 92-3).[28] The AJC, which was founded by the Social Democratic Workers Party (SDAP) and the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions (NVV), was but one component of a network of educational, social and political organizations established by the socialists. That a political and labour organization should extend itself so far into the personal lives of its members is not surprising in a country as factionalized as the Netherlands was before World War II. Just as Catholics and Calvinists had, during the last half of the 19th century, developed their own separate set of institutions, or "pillars" (*zuilen*)—including schools and universities, hospitals, social services, political parties, newspapers and leisure groups, in an attempt to best represent the interests of their constituents and to avoid assimilation, so too was the SDAP forced to follow a similar course during the early years of the 20th century (Rochon 1999, 26-35).[29]

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[27] One German manufacturer, Peter Harlan, made slightly modified copies of Dolmetsch recorders, which he had acquired during a visit to the Haslemere Festival in 1926 (Haskell 1996, 58). It is important to note that these so-called "German system" recorders were intended for the pedagogical/*hausmusik* market and were not intended to be historical copies.

[28] For more on the *Jugendmusikbewegung* (youth music movement) in Germany and its emphasis on participatory music-making, see Potter 1998, 8. After the Nazi rise to power, the German youth movement came under the influence of National Socialism. As Haskell observed, "The Nazis' co-opting of the early music revival became ominously clear at the 1936 Olympic Games in Munich, when thousands of youthful gymnasts performed to music by Carl Orff featuring a large ensemble of recorders and percussion instruments" (1996, 64). When the Nazis invaded the Netherlands, however,

Musical activity, in addition to folk dancing and drama, were seen by the AJC as a means to foster cohesion within their pillar, while also providing youths with a healthy social outlet (Van der Klis 1991, 91-3). Piet Tiggers (1890-1968), musical director of the AJC, criticized the elitism of the 19th-century concert repertoire; community music-making, he felt, could instead involve all people, thereby upholding socialist ideals (Van der Klis 1991, 93-4). In addition to singing, instruments such as violins, viols, lutes, guitars, and especially the soprano recorder were used—the latter because it was inexpensive and easy to learn. The AJC's repertoire consisted originally of folk tune arrangements, but it gradually grew to include Renaissance and early Baroque music (Van der Klis 1991, 95). Because there was a sizeable body of 16th- and 17th-century ensemble and consort music written

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the SDAP and its related organizations (including the AJC) were suppressed during the war and many of its leaders were interned, went into exile, or were in hiding (Cox 1993, 98-100).

[29] This process of "pillarization" is referred to in Dutch as the *verzuiling*. While some historians and sociologists occasionally mention the existence of a fourth, liberal, pillar, its support was in reality rather fragmentary, and it did not, aside from its political party and broadcast station (the VPRO), have the same institutional network as the other pillars. Liberalism in the Netherlands has represented more of an ideology (e.g., advocating a limited role for the federal government, akin to libertarianism) than a social movement per se (Rochon 1999, 33, 73).

originally for the leisured classes, the AJC was able to make suitable arrangements of these works for its amateur music-making activities. In this regard, the AJC could draw a parallel between its own practices, and a similar kind communal music-making common in the Dutch Golden Age.

The activities of the AJC, and the *huismuziek* movement which grew out of it, influenced some of the first professional recorder players in The Netherlands, notably Joannes Collette (1918-) and Kees Otten (1924-), as well as the important pedagogues Gerrit Vellekoop (1907-1984) and Marie Veldhuyzen (1907-1989) (Van der Klis 1991, 97-101). However, in the years after World War II, a distinct shift away from the ideals of the youth movement and amateurism can be detected: some advocates of the recorder began to decry its exclusive association with folk and children's music.[30] The Dutch would eventually advance recorder playing to a high technical standard, and began to call for the awarding of professional conservatory degrees, in an attempt to place it on par with other instruments.

Early Music Performance under the Occupation, 1940-1945

Until relatively recently, little had been written about musical life in the Netherlands during the Second World War and the German occupation, a subject which clearly still makes many Dutch uncomfortable. The New Grove article on the Low Countries dryly remarks only the following:

> During World War II, when the Germans occupied the Netherlands, funding for the orchestras and for commissions was restructured, the results of which lasted for several decades after the war. During the war most orchestral musicians remained at their posts, as did celebrated public figures such as Willem Mengelberg at the Concertgebouw Orchestra. The composer Henk Badings even took over the direction of the conservatory in The Hague during the German occupation.[31] The creation of Dutch music was even increased with the help of the occupying government. Still, many musicians tried to survive without any official ties by giving concerts in private homes. (Wouters and Samama 2001)

Dutch music historians, when treating the occupation period, have tended to focus on the war's effects on major orchestras, especially the Concertgebouworkest and the Rotterdams Philharmonisch Orkest (e.g., see Micheels 1993). The Rotterdam orchestra was most directly affected by German bombing, and lost its rehearsal hall, its library and a large number of musical instruments (Samama 1986, 149). Others have also considered prominent figures such as Mengelberg, and his relationship to the Nazi regime of Arthur Seyss-Inquart, or the struggle for composers to make a livelihood while retaining their artistic integrity during this period.[32]

Indeed, professional musicians were vulnerable under the occupation, given that they were dependent upon centralized, Nazi-controlled organizations for subsidies and performing opportunities. Seyss-Inquart's regime established the Departement van Volksvoorlichting en Kunsten (DVK, Department for the People's Education and the Arts), headed by the Dutch National Socialist Tobie Goedewaagen,

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[30] The beginnings of this trend towards professionalization can already be detected before the war. See note 6 above.

[31] Note that no mention is made here of the fate of Badings and Mengelberg after the war (see p.195 below).

[32] Samama (1986, 149-179) provides a good overview of these issues. A more recent summary of the literature on music under the German occupation can be found in Micheels 2001, 642. See also p. 195 below.

to promote Nazi ideology in the Netherlands using the media and the arts. The DVK and its departments were modeled on similar organizations in Germany. It annexed the Federatie van Nederlandse Toonkunstenaars Verenigingen (FNTV, Federation of the Societies for Dutch Musicians) and formed its own *Muziekkamer* (Music Chamber, later renamed the *Muziekgilde*) (Samama 1986, 156-7). The Muziekkamer was a subsidiary of the *Kultuurkamer*, a joint organization for all artists. Membership in the *Muziekgilde* was obligatory for all "culture workers", or else they would be shut out from all official and professional music organizations (Micheels 2001, 639). Only church musicians were exempted from membership—the Nazis, at least initially, did not interfere as much in the affairs of the churches, except for the repression of their political parties (Blom 1999, 437). Those musicians who refused to join the Muziekgilde often organized instead their own *huisconcerten* (house concerts) in order to avoid dealing with the Nazi arts administration.

It is difficult to get a sense of what daily life was like for musicians under the occupation, especially for freelancers, choir conductors, church musicians, educators, and the like—in other words, the type of musicians most closely associated with the Dutch Early Music revival in its early stages. Many of the pioneering Dutch Early Musicians, because they operated largely outside official organizations such as the major symphony orchestras, were able to keep a somewhat lower profile than other Classical musicians. A few, such as the cellist Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp and the conductor Anthon van der Horst, were able to work within the official channels, and appeared frequently on wartime concert programs (Samama 1986, 157).[33] For many musicians, however, churches and private *huisconcerten* provided important underground performance outlets. The harpsichordist Janny van Wering, for example, although forced to concentrate on the piano again out of necessity, taught and organized her own house concerts (Van der Klis 1991, 87). Her Jewish colleague Gusta Goldschmidt was not so fortunate, however. Both she and her husband (the flutist Everard van Royen) were sent to concentration camps, where they spent the better part of the war. Upon their return to the Netherlands, they had great difficultly reentering the music scene and reestablishing their careers (Van der Klis 1991, 87).

As noted above, the Bach Passion performances put on by the larger societies continued as usual during the war. The maintenance of this tradition no doubt helped to give the public a sense of normalcy during difficult times. Given the restrictions on wartime music programming, the Early Music performers also had a distinct advantage: Bach, by virtue of his German nationality, was acceptable music under Nazi policy, unlike music composed by Jews, British, Poles (except for Chopin), and later Russian and American composers (Micheels 2001, 640). His image was exploited by the Nazis as representative of their cultural supremacy (Haskell 1996, 64).

Performances of Bach's music, however, were also used for subversive purposes. In this way, the conductor Hans Brandts Buys was able to find a creative outlet by putting on Bach cantata productions—in itself a groundbreaking feat, in that these works were rarely performed in the Netherlands prior to this time. Because the Toonkunst choirs were suppressed by the Nazis, he instead organized performances in churches, assembled singers together under the pretext that they were a "church choir" (and therefore outside the domain of the Kultuurkamer), and convinced clerics to include the cantatas as part of their services (Van der Klis 1991, 69). It is especially remarkable that Buys's cantata performances were, for a short time at the beginning of the war, broadcast by the VARA (Vereniging van Arbeiders Radio-Amateurs, or Society of Workers' Radio Amateurs)—a socialist radio station! It exemplifies the cooperation between the confessional and secular pillars seen during the war: they were forced to act together in order to resist a common enemy.[34]

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[33] Van Leeuwen Boomkamp appeared twice in the Concertgebouw's chamber music series, on March 31, 1943 and November 21, 1944, performing music of Beethoven, Debussy and Brahms. Van der Horst, conductor of the Bachvereniging, appeared on January 22, 1944 as a pianist accompanying a lieder recital, including a performance of one of his own works (Concertgebouw 1960, 99, 100, 102).

Despite the hardships of the occupation, the fledgling Dutch Early Music community does not seem to have suffered "brain drain" to the same extent that Germany and France did during the war. In France, for example, the Casadesus family's ensemble disbanded, and Wanda Landowska was forced to flee her home in St. Leu; both Landowska and some members of the Casadesus family also emigrated to the U.S. Germany in particular lost both performers, including Erwin Bodky, and dozens of prominent musicologists in the 1930s and 40s, who were forced to emigrate after the Nazis rose to power. Many had been closely associated with the Early Music revival, through their publication of musical editions, research into performance practices, or directorship of university collegia. (Haskell 1996, 64, 106-8). While many were able to take up new positions in American universities, the net loss to the European musical and scholarly community was enormous.

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[34] Moreover, it also indicates the degree to which the Dutch socialist movement departed from Marxist orthodoxy. Because socialists had to lure the working classes from their confessional pillars, which had even established their own labour unions, a strict Marxist doctrine was not likely to be an effective strategy in a religious society such as the Netherlands. Already in 1902, the Social Democratic Workers Party had compromised with the Calvinist and Catholic parties by supporting government funding for religious schools, in an effort to collaborate with them against the pro-business Liberal (VVD) party (Rochon 1999, 32). The Dutch socialists were likewise ambivalent about the monarchy: their underground wartime paper, *Het Parool*, published the exiled queen's speeches and vowed to support the continuation of the monarchy after the war (ibid., 42). The cooperation between socialists and Catholic (KVP) party persisted in the post-war reconstruction period with the "Red-Roman" coalitions (see p. 198 below).

Even more problematic for the German Early Music scene was the cooptation of the Jugendmusikbewegung, Hausmusik and choral movements by the Nazis for nationalistic, anti-Semitic and propagandistic purposes.[35] As Butt notes, "Prominent German intellectuals and composers, such as Theodor Adorno and Ernst Krenek, condemned early music movements and neo-classicism in compositional style on account of their resonance with the nauseating dilution of art to craft, so characteristic of the Nazi youth movement" (Butt 2002, 210). In Butt's estimation, this close association of Early Music with National Socialism "might relate to the comparative slowness of the post-war HIP [historically-informed performance] movement in Germany compared with Holland, Switzerland, Austria and America."

Indeed, in the Netherlands, historical performance had a very different reception after the war. The association of some historical performers with underground music-making in private homes and churches, coupled with the suppression of the Socialist Party's AJC, removed Early Music from the Nazi-tainted sphere of public musical life. The symphony orchestras, particularly the Amsterdam

Concertgebouw Orchestra and its conductor, Willem Mengelberg, faced far greater challenges in the de-Nazification or *zuivering* (literally "cleansing" or "purgation") process and in restoring their public image. Mengelberg, for example, conducted and recorded with the Berlin Philharmonic just two months after the Netherlands had fallen to the Germans. His pro-German statements to the Nazi-run newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter*, which later appeared in a Dutch translation in the *Telegraaf*, outraged many Netherlanders (Micheels 1989, 212). While the Concertgebouw had been an independent entity since its founding in 1888, under the occupation it became entirely an organ of the state. Jan Govert Goverts, a Dutch music critic and member of the Nederlandsche Bruckner-Vereniging (Netherlands Bruckner Society), was appointed head of the music department of the DVK in 1941. Captivated by the political-cultural aspects of National Socialism, Goverts played a pivotal role in the reorganization of musical life under the occupation. He ensured that the symphony orchestras were granted generous federal subventions, and the salaries and working conditions of the musicians were substantially improved as a result (Samama 1986, 151; Micheels 1993, 421-42; Micheels 2001, 639).[36] With greater financial support came greater government involvement in the orchestras' affairs, however: among the dictates imposed by the DVK included *arisering* (Aryanizing), with the purging of most Jewish musicians,[37] and a prohibition of performing works by Jewish, English,

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[35] Regarding the Hitler Youth's relationship to the Jugendmusikbewegung, see Potter 1998, 14-16; on the choral movement's appropriation by National Socialism, see *ibid.*, 43-46. See also note 28 above.

[36] See p. 220 below.

[37] Of the fifty-seven Jewish orchestral musicians targeted by the *arisering*, most were eventually deported to concentration camps in Eastern Europe; by the end of the war, twenty-eight of them were killed, while twenty-nine survived (Micheels 1993, 493).

Polish, Russian and American composers. With Mengelberg's cooperation, the Concertgebouw Orchestra musicians performed at official state functions; Seyss-Inquart was himself a music-lover and frequently attended these concerts. Moreover, the German bunkers stationed in the Museumplein just across the street from the Concertgebouw—which remained in place until the early 1950s—could only solidify the impression of the Orchestra's association with the occupying regime.[38]

After the liberation, the orchestras were forbidden to play until the *Ereraad voor de Muziek* (Honour Council for Music) began its "cleansing" (*zuivering*) campaign against suspected Nazi collaborators. Mengelberg, for example, was exiled in Switzerland, while Henk Badings, director of the Royal Conservatory, and Jan Goverts were barred from participating in Dutch musical life for ten years (Micheels 2001, 643). Certainly, most orchestra musicians were not Nazi-sympathizers and had little choice but to cooperate with the occupying regime. Nevertheless, musicians who worked outside the official music organizations—particularly those involved in the fledgling historical performance movement—could more readily continue their activities after the war without the scrutiny of the Ereraad, or the guilt by association with the Nazi-co-opted orchestras.

Because the Netherlands lost fewer musicians to the war, the Holocaust and emigration, the Dutch were, in some ways, in a better position than the Germans and the French to reconstruct the country's musical life after the war. Even before the liberation, musicians and artists were already working together to plan new artistic policies for the Dutch post-war society. Following a series of protests against the Nazi-run Kultuurkamer in 1942, members of the resistance movement formed their own underground society, the Nederlandse Federatie van Beroepsverenigingen van Kunstenaars, or the Netherlands Federation of Professional Societies for Artists, in 1944.[39] After the war, the Federatie worked together with the new government to shape policy and to lobby collectively for improved social conditions for artists (Brautigam n.d., 10).

Musical Life in the Post-War Era, 1945-1980: Renewal and Growth

The Origins of the Welfare State and the Design of a National Arts Policy, 1945-1960

When the Allied forces liberated the Netherlands, from late 1944 into the spring of 1945, they found the country in a state of devastation and famine. The economy's industrial and agricultural sectors, exploited at length to fuel the German war operations, were on the brink of collapse (Rochon 1999, 42-3; Blom 1999, 438). The country faced an arduous task of reconstruction, both in terms of its physical infrastructure (especially in Rotterdam, which had been badly bombed by the Germans during the war), and in terms of the government's organization as well. The

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[38] Photos of these bunkers (including one dated 1951-52) are reproduced in Micheels 1989, 215 and 251. The Museumplein itself was the site of numerous Nazi rallies during the occupation.

Netherlands also had a colonial crisis brewing beyond its immediate borders, in the Dutch East Indies: beginning immediately after the end of the war, a series of revolts and costly military actions eventually led to the granting of Indonesia's independence in 1949.

Given the extent of the government's pressing problems, then, the post-war cabinet's plans for the development of a comprehensive welfare state were tremendously ambitious. A.A. van Rhijn, placed in charge of the government-in-exile's commission to design the welfare state, examined the systems in place in other countries, and incorporated them into the policy planning for the Netherlands. Remarkably, the Van Rijn Commission advocated a move beyond the pre-war system of workers' insurance to the universal extension of social benefits (Cox 1993, 100-2, Rochon 1999, 196).[40] The Commission's plans for the welfare state, then, slated a far greater role for a centralized government than had previously been the case: prior to the war, the Dutch government had a tradition of limited involvement in the affairs of its citizens, leaving the administration of social services to the pillar organizations (Rochon 1999, 190).

Paradoxically, just as the government was moving towards greater centralization in some areas, there was an overall strengthening of the Catholic and Dutch Reformed pillars in the years after the war, at least in terms of membership in

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[39] Later renamed the Federatie van Kunstenaarsverenigingen, this organization is still in existence today. For more on the Federatie's history, see the website http://www.federatievankunstenaarsverenigingen.nl/geschiedenis.php (accessed 12 April 2006).

[40] Van Rijn was able to implement many of his strategies because he held the position of state secretary for social insurance in the Ministry of Social Affairs during the cabinet of Willem Drees (1948-58), the period in which the welfare state's foundation was laid (Rochon 1999, 225).

social organizations such as schools, newspapers, and broadcasting associations (Rochon 1999, 43-4). The occupation experience, however, had convinced many Dutch of the need to cooperate across religious and ideological differences in order to reconstruct the society, particularly with regard to labour, social services, and the economy. In this regard, the social democrats moved to unify the working classes across religious barriers (Rochon 1999, 43). The postwar "Red-Roman" cabinets of the Social Democrat Willem Drees (1886-1988), prime minister from 1948 through 1958,[41] were uneasy coalitions, but they indicate the unprecedented degree of cooperation between the Labour (*Partij van de Arbeid*, or PvdA, which had absorbed the SDAP) and Catholic parties.

Even more extraordinary, given the government's arguably more pressing needs, was the high priority the post-war cabinets placed on funding for the arts and culture. Arts subsidies were put in place almost from the beginning, despite the fact that many of the other welfare reform projects envisioned under the Van Rijn Commission were not fully realized until 1960s (Cox 1993, 104).[42] These social policies would have important implications for the Early Music movement in the Netherlands, particularly in the areas of education (especially higher education), and in the funding of arts granting agencies, festivals, orchestras and chamber music series, all of which would have an impact on historical performers.

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[41] Drees was also a government minister in the cabinets from 1945 through 1948, prior to his appointment as prime minister. As such, he was involved in the Van Rhin Report implementation from the beginning (1993, 103).

[42] These delays were in part due to disagreements between the PvdA and the confessional parties over how to implement and administer poor relief and social insurance (Cox 1993, 105-123), and also

Why did the arts become such a key component of the developing Dutch welfare state, both from its origins after the war, through its rapid expansion during the 1960s and 70s? Firstly, a centralized scheme of funding for arts organizations by the government was one of the peculiar legacies of the Nazi occupation which persisted after the war.[43] Prior to the occupation, funding for arts groups most typically came from ticket sales, municipal funds, and the pillar organizations. The control of arts funding had played an important role in the Nazi propaganda machine, as well as in the manipulation of the Dutch public will. As Micheels has observed,

> During the course of 1941, it became clear that "cooperation" on the part of the Germans was no longer perceptible. No, the roles had been gradually turned around: the Germans laid down the policy, and the Netherlanders were to cooperate with it. The arts, and thus also music, would, according to Nazi ideology, become entirely an affair of the state.[44] (Micheels 2001, 639)

In particular, Jan Goverts had set up a new, efficient plan for the state funding of the orchestras, which, during the Depression of the 1930s, had fallen under difficult financial times. Under the administration plans of the DVK, which were modeled after German regulations, orchestras could have about sixty percent of their costs paid for by the state; salary scales were linked to a musician's position within the orchestra (Beijer and Samama 1989, 115). This policy was continued, with a few modifications, under the post-war funding policies, and was restructured only in

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because of the rivalry between PvdA and the Catholic (KVP) party leadership, culminating in the bitter election campaign of 1956 (Rochon 1999, 178).

[43] In addition to the *Kultuurkamer*, the Nazis also tried, unsuccessfully, to centralize other social groups in Dutch society, for example workers unions and farmers organizations (Blom 1999, 437).

[44] *In de loop van 1941 was duidelijk geworden dat er van 'medewerking' van de kant van de Duitsers steeds minder te merken was. Nee, de rollen waren langzamerhand omgedraaid: de Duitsers bepaalden het beleid en de Nederlanders werkten mee. De kunst, en dus ook de muziek, zou geheel volgens de nazi-ideologie een staatszaak worden.*

recent years. State funding to orchestras would typically be distributed as follows: the state paid for roughly half of the orchestra members' salaries, while municipal and provincial funds would cover the rest. The salaries of conductors, soloists and administrative personnel would be covered by ticket sales, hiring, and donations (Beijer and Samama 1989, 115). Because the Nazi precedent had set up an expectation for the continued state funding for orchestras, the government was in a sense obliged to continue the orchestra subsidies in the post-war years. Already within ten years of the war, the number of orchestras in the Netherlands doubled (from eight to fifteen) as funding was extended to smaller, regional ensembles and the three radio orchestras (Schuyt and Taverne 2000, 503). By 1955, with the founding of a second orchestra based in Amsterdam, there were sixteen orchestras for a Dutch population of about 11 million, giving it the highest such ratio in the world (Samama 1985, 22).

A second factor was the key position the arts held under the social policies of Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890-1950), the first post-war Minister of Education, the Arts, and Sciences (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen)[45] under Prime Minister Schermerhorn. Although this ministry had been established in 1918, it would take on a more central role immediately after the Second World War. Van der Leeuw, a theology professor at Groningen University, had a particular interest in music—he had himself written two books on Bach's Passion music,[46] and with

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[45] This ministry has in recent years been renamed the Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, hereafter abbreviated as the Ministerie van OCenW.

[46] Van der Leeuw 1945 and 1947. Music also figured prominently in his theological writings, especially the works of Bach. See, for example, Van der Leeuw 1963.

Anthon van der Horst, co-authored a book on the *B Minor Mass* (Van der Horst and Van der Leeuw, 1941). In all, Van der Leeuw set aside more than a million guilders of federal monies to fund music programming (Schuyt and Taverne 2000, 503). Despite the fact that he held this position for only one year, Van der Leeuw nevertheless had a big impact on the government's artistic policy throughout the 1950s. Among his ministerial tasks, Van der Leeuw appointed the musicologist Eduard Reeser (1908-2002) as his musical advisor, and set up a state commission on music education. Reeser would continue to play an advisory role in the Ministry well into the 1970s.

Van der Leeuw's beliefs about the role of the arts in society reflect a curious mixture of Calvinism, social democracy, idealism, and nationalism. Detained during the war in the Saint Michiel prison with other political leaders and social activists, Van der Leeuw theorized a cultural "breakthrough" (*culturele doorbrak*) for the new post-war society (Schuyt and Taverne 2000, 408). For Van der Leeuw, the arts programs, as part of the welfare state's grand experiment in social design, were a form of propaganda important to the development of a Dutch national consciousness. Their purpose was to project a favourable image of Dutch cultural life abroad, while, domestically, also creating a sense of cohesion across the divides of pillar, ideology and social class. More importantly, they would serve as a buffer against what he believed to be encroaching threats to the rapidly-changing post-war society: fascism and communism,[47] but also the "irresistible temptations" of an Americanized popular culture, and the "moral decay" promoted by sport, movies, sensationalist journalism and the radio (Schuyt and Taverne 2000, 408). In this regard, the Marshall Plan had brought the Netherlands much-needed financial assistance for the reconstruction effort, but it also engendered among some members of the Dutch public a certain wariness of American cultural domination.

The three years following the end of the war would be pivotal for the arts community in general, but especially for musicians. Under the policies of Van der Leeuw and his successor Jos Gielen,[48] federal funding for the arts expanded, and a large number of new government-run, and government-subsidized, institutions would be established to support musicians. Foremost among these was the Raad voor de Kunst (Arts Council, 1947), which, though it initially acted as an advisor to the Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences, would, after 1956, become responsible for the distribution of nearly all federal arts subsidies, including the performing arts (Beijer and Samama 1989, 116).

A number of the new arts organizations were explicitly formed for the purpose of promoting Dutch musicians, both domestically and abroad. The Stichting Nederlands Impresariaat (1947) was a federally-financed non-profit organization, which also included advisors from the Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences on its board. Its purpose was to help develop the careers of young Dutch musicians by acting as a mediator between musicians, concert venues, and artist agents. The Impresariaat would take on an even greater role in Dutch musical life in the 1960s and 70s, particularly in the realm of chamber music (see below). Other important organizations and institutions founded during the post-war period include the Nederlands Cultureel Contact (Netherlands Cultural Contact), est. 1948, an umbrella organization which coordinated the activities of arts groups, especially those dealing with cultural education, hobby and amateur societies, and youth groups; Donemus (established in 1947), whose purpose is to support the performance of Dutch music, especially contemporary works; and the Vereniging voor Huismuziek (Society for Domestic Music-Making), established in 1951. The Huismuziek society essentially took over many of the activities of the AJC, and included many of the same leaders, such as Piet Tiggers and Marie Veldhuyzen (Beijer and Samama 1989, 175).

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[47] The Communist threat was not mere paranoia on Van der Leeuw's part: the Communist Party (CPN) received 10% of the vote in the 1946 election. Indeed, fear of political radicalization led confessional leaders to agree to some of the compromises necessary for the formation of the welfare state. As Blom has observed, "The Soviet menace was also an additional argument for increased social legislation, since poverty was regarded as the breeding ground for social unrest and communism" (1999, 440).

[48] Van der Leeuw was replaced after the May 1946 elections, when the PvdA relinquished control of the Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences to the Catholic (KVP) party as part of their coalition-building compromise (Smiers 1977, 129-32).

The Holland Festival

Another government-funded initiative from the post-war years was the Holland Festival, which was first held in 1948. The Festival, which takes place every year in June through early July, was intended to create a prestigious platform for the display of Dutch and foreign performing artists. This, it was hoped, would help lead the Netherlands to the forefront of the European cultural life, given that other

European countries, especially Germany and Austria, were still coping with post-war reconstruction (Blokker 1987, 192). Initially, the federal and municipal governments together funded nearly 90% of the festival's total costs (Tichelaar 2001); concerts were held not only in the major cities, but in smaller municipalities as well. The festival's radio broadcasts also helped to disseminate some of the more innovative programming to a wider audience.

In the first few years of the Holland Festival's operation, the music programming consisted largely of opera and standard orchestral repertoire, intermingled with a few contemporary works. Not surprisingly, a Bach work was featured prominently in the 1948 Festival: the Nederlandse Bachvereniging performed the *B Minor Mass*. Gradually, both contemporary works and Early Music became more prominent. The 1959 Festival, for example, featured the first modern-day performance of Haydn's *Il Mondo della Luna*, and several more Haydn operas were presented in 1963, 1965, and 1966.

Initially a symbol of the Dutch musical establishment's "arrival" on the world stage, the Holland Festival, by the late 1960s, would increasingly become an organ explicitly meant to challenge and critique this mainstream. Under the directorship of Jaap den Daas (1966-1976), the programming became more and more experimental as the festival sought to broaden its public appeal. Guest conductors included contemporary music specialists Bruno Maderna, Pierre Boulez and Edo de Waart, and important works by Stockhausen, Boulez, Berio, and Nono were premiered. Den Daas's associate, Jo Elsendoorn, would later introduce the music of Philip Glass and

Maricio Kagel to the Netherlands (Blokker 1987, 195). Among Den Daas's best-known operatic productions were the groundbreaking multimedia and multi-disciplinary work *Labyrint* by Peter Schat, which premiered at the 1966 Festival, and the collaborative work *Reconstructie*, a "morality" composed by Schat, Reinbert de Leeuw, Louis Andriessen, Jan van Vlijmen and Misha Mengelberg, and the writers Harry Mulisch and Hugo Claus, for the 1969 Festival.[49] *Reconstructie*, because of its stylistic eclecticism and its overtly political libretto (it critiqued U.S. foreign policy in Latin America by depicting Che Guevara as a victim of Don Juan, a symbol of American imperialism), aroused considerable controversy in the press and gained this group of five composers considerable notoriety.[50]

Significantly, as the Holland Festival shifted from a showcase of European classical music to more contemporary or avant-garde programming, Early Music continued to play an important role. In addition to the Haydn revivals noted above, other interesting Early operas staged by the Festival include Monteverdi's *Orfeo*, in 1967, and Rameau's *Platée* (1968). Under director Frans de Ruiter (1978 to 1985), period instrument groups became increasingly prominent in the programming; the 1979 Festival, for example, included performances by Hesperion XX and Musica Antiqua Köln. By the 1980s historical performers had such a substantial presence that a separate division of the Holland Festival had to be established in 1982 in order to accommodate them. The Utrecht Early Music Festival eventually separated from the Holland Festival and became its own entity.

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[49] Four out of these five composers would also be involved in the *Notenkrakersactie*, a defining moment in Dutch post-war musical life (see below). Interestingly, *Reconstructie* contained an extended solo for amplified contrabass recorder, performed at the premiere by Frans Brüggen.

[50] For more documentation on this period of the Holland Festival's history, see Blokker 1987, 97-119 and Voeten 1997, 89-97. Voeten also provides a summary of *Reconstructie*'s reception in the Dutch

Prins Bernhard Fonds

In addition to the growth in government agencies, a number of private foundations also sprang up in the first few years after the war. By far the most important for cultural funding was the Prins Bernhard Fonds (PBF). The Prince Bernhard Fund was founded in London in 1940 to help raise funds for the war effort, particularly for the purchase of airplanes and other military materials (Verheul and Dankers 1990, 8). In 1946, however, the PBF transformed into a cultural fund for the support of the performing and fine arts, scholarship, and arts education. From the beginning, the PBF funded both the operating costs of arts organizations, provided assistance for special projects, and also provided support to individual artists (Schuyt and Taverne 2000, 415). Regional branches of the fund were also set up to promote the arts in the provinces. Its programming initiatives have in many ways paralleled those of the Ministry for Education, the Arts, and Sciences, particularly in the first ten years of its existence. The former head of this ministry, Van der Leeuw, in addition to two of his advisors Eduard Reeser (a musicologist) and Martinus Nijhoff (a poet), were also members of the PBF's advisory board, and as such influenced its funding policy (Verheul and Dankers 1990, 117). The Prins Bernhard Fond, like Van der

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and international press. At issue in populist Dutch papers like the *Telegraaf* was whether public funds

Leeuw's administration, had an overtly nationalist agenda, due in part to its military and wartime origins. Its mission statement has been to promote Dutch artists abroad, while also fostering arts organizations within the Netherlands. In recent years, Early Music organizations such as the Nederlandse Bachvereniging and the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra have been the recipients of large PBF grants, for example to cover recording and touring costs, but smaller ensembles have also benefited.

Expansion of the Welfare State and Music Funding, 1960-1980

As the Netherlands rapidly changed, in the post-war years, from a religious, conservative, pillarized society with strong agrarian roots,[51] towards a culture marked by urbanization, technological advancement, secularization and social progressivism, so too did the welfare state itself evolve, and along with it, the funding of arts programs. Rochon 1999 (190-91) has identified four stages in the growth of the welfare state, and each has had a resultant effect on government cultural programs. In the first ten years after the war, during which the fundamental social security programs were established, so too were a number of granting organizations and advisory councils for the arts (see above). The following two decades, from 1957-1976, were marked by a period of enormous government expansion, coupled with an

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should be used to support such politically-engaged art.

[51] Industrialization came relatively late to the Netherlands, in contrast to its neighbours England and Belgium (Cox 1993, 96).

enormous increase in funding for social programs: Rochon notes that, "By the mid-1960s the proportion of GDP spent on social welfare transfers in the Netherlands had outdistanced that of other European countries" (ibid., 190). A significant portion of these funds would go to cultural and educational programming as well. According to statistics provided by the Ministerie van OCenW (1999b, 3.7), both the federal budget and the arts budget increased dramatically after 1955, with enormous increases between 1960 and 1975 (see Table 1 below).

TABLE 1

NATIONAL ARTS BUDGET 1946-1980

Year	**National budget Millions of guilders**	**Arts budget Millions of guilders**	**Arts budget as % of national budget**
1946	5,532	3.15	0.06
1950	3,550	3.20	0.09
1955	5,525	6.80	0.12
1960	9,545	14.50	0.15
1965	14, 745	28.00	0.19
1970	28,965	61.40	0.21
1975	62,815	140.80	0.22
1980	111,611	222.20	0.20

This period of peak growth in arts funding coincides with Rochon's third stage, during which Dutch attitudes towards the welfare state underwent a fundamental change:

> In the third stage, which began in the late 1960s and gathered momentum in the 1970s, the Dutch developed a new philosophy of social participation that replaced the logic of minimum income maintenance previously guiding welfare state policies. At the peak of this third stage, the welfare state sought to give all citizens the opportunity to participate fully in the society, regardless of the jobs they held or whether they worked at all. (Rochon 1999, 191)

The implication of this new philosophy for the Netherlands' musical life would be a greater "democratization" in the granting of subsidies. Funding, as noted earlier, had first extended beyond the subsidization of the major orchestras to regional ensembles. Complaints from orchestras in remote areas, such as Friesland, and amateur and folk music ensembles, who felt that they were being unfairly neglected to the benefit of the elite, urban orchestras, forced the government to revise its funding policies and make them more inclusive (Smiers 1977, 106-7). This sense of entitlement to equity in funding effectively mirrors the very nature of the pillar system itself: the Dutch were long accustomed to tolerating and conciliating with religious, ideological and even linguistic minorities (i.e., the Frisians), particularly since the Compromise of 1917 had established an important legal precedent for the equal funding of parochial schools (Cox 1993, 66). This extreme—by North American standards—application of democratic principles to arts subsidization would have important implications, in the 1960s and 1970s, for the funding of the smaller chamber music ensembles through which many historical performers would get their start. Increasingly, subsidies were awarded to a greater variety of musical groups, including those which fell outside the Classical music mainstream: contemporary music (including electronic and experimental genres), Early Music, folk music and non-Western musics were now granted legitimate status according to government granting agencies. When some of these Early Music chamber groups expanded to orchestra size (notably the Leonhardt Consort, and, in the 1980s, Frans Brüggen's Orchestra of the 18th Century and Ton Koopman's Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra), they would eventually become eligible for the structural subsidies, just like the orchestras modern instrument ensembles (see Chapter Six).

Remarkably, it is precisely the peak period of growth in the welfare state which coincides with important changes in the Dutch Early Music movement, most significantly the enormous growth in its audience, but also a push towards greater professionalization and a break with the movement's roots in amateur music-making. It was also beginning in the late 1960s that another important shift occurred, not only in the Netherlands but in the global Early Music scene as well: not only did Early Music performers differentiate themselves by their specialized (pre-1800) repertoire, but they also increasingly sought a more "authenticist" approach to its performance. This entailed a move towards the exclusive use of historical instruments, and also an attempt to recreate the performance practices surrounding the original conception of a work.

Rochon's fourth stage in the development of the welfare state, which he terms "retrenchment", begins in the 1980s under the centre-right administration of Ruud Lubbers. The implication of budget cuts and program consolidation for Dutch musical life, and the Early Music movement in particular, will be explored in Chapter Six.

Social Upheaval in the 1960s and 1970s: Early Music and the Dutch Counterculture

In order to explain why this tremendous increase in federal arts funding occurred in the 1960s and the impact it had on Dutch musical life, it is first necessarily to consider the government's response to some of the larger cultural, economic and demographic trends occurring in the Netherlands during this period. Beginning in the mid-1960s, Dutch society underwent a number of tremendous changes, similar to the "cultural revolution" which occurred in the U.S. and other Western countries. In some ways, however, the Netherlands' transformation was even more extreme: Dutch society moved, in the course of only ten years or so, from a very conservative, religious, pillarized and bourgeois society, to one marked by social progressivism and secularization. Remarkably, as the historian James C. Kennedy has noted, "this cultural transformation—in many respects more far-reaching than in America—was effected with a minimum of violence, either by the state or the citizenry, and with not so much as a hint of political revolution" (Kennedy 1995, 7).

How had this dramatic reshaping of Dutch society come about? Firstly, a dramatic drop in church attendance and deconfessionalization (*ontzuiling*, or depillarization) began in the late 1960s and 1970s (Rochon 1999, 79-81). The depillarization was spearheaded, surprisingly, by reforms within the Catholic pillar, which began after the Second Vatican Council of 1962. Under the leadership of liberal bishops, who openly the challenged hierarchical structure of the church and traditional Catholic positions on such matters as contraception and priestly celibacy, many Catholics began to question the authority of the church. Mass attendance and membership in Catholic pillar organizations plummeted (Rochon 1999, 44-6). The crisis within the Catholic pillar triggered similar reform movements within the Calvinist churches, leading to a similar trend towards secularization and a breakdown in pillar organizations. The resultant statistics on church attendance are staggering. Incredibly,

> …the proportion of the population describing itself as regularly attending services of the Reformed Churches fell by one-third between 1968 and 1971, and the proportion of practicing Dutch Reformed fell by 50 percent in that same period. The proportion of practicing Catholics fell by nearly two-thirds between 1968 and 1998. (Rochon 1999, 79)

Along with church attendance, membership in the confessional parties declined rapidly as well, leading to a fundamental restructuring of the party system (Rochon 1999, 77). The electorate shifted increasingly to the left.

Not surprisingly, church musicians were also profoundly affected by the decreasing confessionalization of Dutch society. The harpsichordist and clavichordist Menno van Delft (b. 1963), who grew up in Brabant, the Catholic region of the Netherlands, lived across from his town's church as a small child.[52] He noted that that he literally "witnessed the great decline" of church attendance: as a young boy (between 1963 and 1969), he recalled that the courtyard in front of the church was always crowded after mass; by the 1970s, attendance had already dropped by two-thirds. Although he began his musical career an organist, he grew discouraged playing concerts in a church that was only half full, and was dismayed that there was little money to improve the building's roof or the organ. By 1988, he had stopped playing the instrument altogether, and focused his attentions on harpsichord and clavichord. It is entirely possible that the decline in religious participation likewise encouraged other musicians to shift their interests from service in the Catholic and Protestant churches and into Early Music performance instead.

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[52] This account is taken from a personal interview with Van Delft (2004).

During the same period as deconfessionalization, a number of radical political and artistic movements sprang up in the Netherlands. The challenge of church doctrines spread to other aspects of society, leading to the questioning of authority figures in general. In 1965, a group of young people frustrated with the materialism and bureaucracy of Dutch society formed a movement known collectively as "Provo" (from the word *provocatie*, to provoke). The Provos' acts of public mischief (which poked fun at the affluent and prominent members of society), as well as their "artistic happenings", attracted a good deal of press (Rochon 1999, 47-8; Blom 1999, 447, Kennedy 1995, 238-52).[53] One of their most notorious actions was the disruption of the royal wedding of Princess Beatrix and Claus von Amsberg in 1966 with smoke bombs, an event which was reported by television and newspapers around the world.[54] This particular protest was both anti-monarchist and anti-German: Prince

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[53] For a first-hand account of some of the Provos' activities, see Mulisch (1966). Mulisch was one of the co-authors of the libretto to *Reconstructie* (see page 205 above).

[54] See, for example, Cowan 1966 for contemporary coverage from the *New York Times*. This article was on the front page with a large photo of the smoke bomb going off during the wedding procession.

Claus had served in the Hitler Youth and a division of the German army during the war, and as such, his engagement to Beatrix was deeply resented by many Dutch people.

Although the Provos officially disbanded in 1967, their actions would inspire protests of a more serious nature.[55] A large group of students occupied the administrative offices of the University of Amsterdam in 1969, in an attempt to force educational reforms. Street demonstrations were held to protest the Vietnam war and the destruction of the environment throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s, and *pand kraken* ("cracking", or squatting in abandoned buildings) became an increasingly common means of protesting the housing shortage in the Netherlands' urban areas.

For Dutch artistic life, these social changes would have important implications. In the visual and performing arts communities, the revered paintings of the Golden Age, standard theatre repertoire and mainstream Classical music—as well as their associated institutions—began to seem less and less relevant to the younger generation. Artists were beginning to adopt the means and tactics of the Provo in an effort to attract attention and promote reforms. In June 1969, a group of some sixty visual artists had occupied the *Nachtwachtzaal* (Night Watch gallery) of the Rijksmuseum, and that October, theatre students launched the *Actie Tomaat* by throwing tomatoes on the stage of Amsterdam's *Nederlanse Comedie*.[56] Visual and performing artists alike voiced many common demands: they sought more input into the programming of exhibitions and performances, greater financial security, and increased government funding for their activities.

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[55] The *Kabouters* (gnomes), a spin-off political party of the Provos, received 11% of the vote in the Amsterdam municipal elections of June 1970. Their environmental platform, in particular their calls for more affordable housing, made them popular with young voters (Kennedy 1995, 256-7).

[56] For more on these protests, see Pots (2002, 295-297) and Kennedy (1995, 253-54).

For musicians, the most notorious anti-establishment protest, the so-called *Notenkrakersactie*,[57] would occur just a few weeks later. On November 17, 1969, a group of contemporary composers and other musicians, including Louis Andriessen, Misha Mengelberg, Reinbert de Leeuw and Peter Schat, launched a protest against the stagnation ("*verstening*", literally petrification) of the of the concert repertoire by interrupting a concert of the Amsterdam Concertgebouworkest with toy clickers and a megaphone. The Notenkrakers challenged the Orchestra's programming of German Romantic music (then-conductor Bernard Haitink's specialties were Bruckner and Mahler) and argued that, as the most visible representative of Dutch culture abroad, the Orchestra should perform more music by living Dutch composers. Moreover, not only did the symphony orchestras in the Netherlands receive the vast majority of federal funding to the music sector, which frustrated young musicians seeking to create other alternatives, but their unsavoury cooperation with the Occupation's regime continued to haunt them. Ultimately the *actie* led to an important dialogue between composers, the orchestra administrators and musicians' societies. However, most of the Notenkrakers abandoned the idiom of the symphony orchestra altogether, choosing instead to write for smaller, more flexible and specialized ensembles, and to seek out new venues—outside of the Concertgebouw—for performances of their music (Beijer and Samama 1989, 117, Mineur 1989).

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[57] "Nutcrackers action", so named because of the pun on the Dutch words *noten* (which means both nuts and musical notes) and *kraken* (which refers to the practice of squatting in abandoned housing; see p. 214 above). The idea was that the composers were similarly occupying the Concertgebouw in an attempt to reclaim it for contemporary Dutch music.

Given the reaction against traditional values and organizations in the late 1960s, it is surprising that "old", pre-1800 music was not also rejected by young people along with the 19th-century, Germanic orchestral repertoire. Even the very program interrupted by the *Notenkrakers* included "early" music (a Quantz flute concerto).[58] The growth of the Early Music movement initially seems at odds with the youth countercultural movements, but also with the reform-minded atmosphere of the post-war Netherlands. Indeed, almost immediately after the liberation, there were repeated calls for *vernieuwing*, or renewal, across all sectors of society—not only among the younger generation, but also among Dutch politicians, clergy and cultural figures. It was in this spirit of renewal that the social welfare state was constructed in the 1950s and 60s, and major reform initiatives were instigated to the technology and education sectors. There was a sense that the Netherlands, prior to the war, had been unhealthily "backwards" in terms of its economic, social and cultural development (Kennedy 1995, 27-30). As Kennedy has observed, "By the 1950s, many Dutch politicians, clergymen, newspaper editors and other prominent citizens saw themselves en route from an obsolescent past (i.e., the world before 1940) to a 'modern' future" (Kennedy 1995, 31). A more progressive and modern society would allow the Dutch to distance themselves from the ineffective economic policies that led to the Depression, but more importantly from the trauma of the Occupation. But here we return to the central paradox of the Dutch Early Music movement: if, as the historian J. C. H. Blom has noted, "Everything from the past seemed to have no future" (1999, 445) during this time, how did the Early Music community manage to survive, and even thrive, into the ensuing decades?

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[58] It is possible that the Concertgebouw Orchestra's solo flutist, Hubert Barwahser (1906-1985), might have been specifically targeted by the *Notenkrakers*, though I have found no indications as such in the literature about the *Notenkrakersactie*. The appointment of Barwahser, a German, to the orchestra in 1936 had aroused some controversy at the Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences and at the Federatie van Nederlandse Toonkunstenaars Verenigingen due to the protectionist hiring policies in place at that time: because Barwahser was not Dutch, he required a permit to work in the Netherlands (Micheels 1993, 20). Barwahser's position during the war was also precarious: he joined, but eventually deserted, the German army, and eventually spent the remainder of the occupation in hiding in Zaandam. Hilberdink (2003) also notes that some Orchestra members suspected Barwahser of being a Nazi sympathizer; though he was later exonerated, it was still difficult for him to reintegrate into the Orchestra after the war.

Ironically, instead of promoting a backlash against Early Music, the *Notenkrakersactie* had the opposite effect on the movement: reform initiatives to raise the profile of contemporary music would ultimately increase the amount of Early Music programming in Dutch concert venues, as well as the visibility of performers on historical instruments. Firstly, this was because key leaders in the Dutch Early Music scene, just like new music specialists, cultivated an anti-establishment image. Performers such as Frans Brüggen were involved in the contemporary music area, and had close contact with Dutch composers, particularly Louis Andriessen. Brüggen was both a supporter of the Notenkrakersactie (though he was not present on that occasion), and an outspoken critic of the Concertgebouworkest, especially its overly Romantic playing style (Hiu 2001, 761). As he infamously declared at an April 1970 meeting between the Notenkrakers and the Concertgebouw management, "Every note of Mozart and Beethoven that the

Concertgebouw Orchestra plays is musically-speaking a lie."[59] What is more, Brüggen was involved in protests against the Vietnam War, just as were many of his audience members (Hiu 2001, 758). Ton Koopman likewise remarked upon the political involvement of Early Musicians, noting that at the first period-instrument performance of the *St. John Passion* in the Netherlands, a representative from Amnesty International was invited to speak between the two sections, rather than a minister (Koopman 1991). Early Musicians and contemporary musicians alike performed in jeans and casual clothing, which further associated them with the youth counterculture.

In this manner, Early Music retained its status as a community- and socially-engaged form of music making, one that could be accessible to the audience, at the same time that its practitioners were becoming more professionalized. Early music could effectively mediate between these two worlds: it could be practiced both within the elitist institutions of the concert hall and conservatory, but it could also be part of a street protest, or a *huismuziek* program for amateurs.

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[59] As quoted in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*; see Schoute (1970). A slightly different Brüggen quotation appears in the *Telegraaf*, where he is said to have stated, 'Every note that the Concertgebouw Orchestra plays from Mozart or Beethoven is lies. They don't know where Abraham got the mustard [i.e., they are not well-informed]. They have no [historically-appropriate] instrumentarium, no knowledge and no good conductors. The music from 1850 to Stravinsky, yes, that they can do' (*Telegraaf* 1970).

Early Music and the Growth of Chamber Music Ensembles in the 1960s and 70s

The *Notenkraker* protests eventually led to increased funding for ensembles, especially those specializing in Baroque and contemporary music (Beijer and Samama 1989, 118). Still, the results of the protest were mixed. The symphony orchestras—whose numbers had actually *increased* to twenty-one by 1981—retained the lion's share of federal arts funding, and their programming, which emphasized 19th-century Germanic music, remained largely conservative.[60] Thus, fundamental reform to the music funding scheme did not yet occur in the 1970s: the overall increase in the arts budget simply meant more funds were available for *everyone* across the board. It was not until the mid-1980s that the orchestras would face a major series of reorganization initiatives and budget cuts, although for budgetary rather than aesthetic reasons (see Chapter Six).

Nevertheless, small groups of musicians and chamber orchestras began to spring up in greater numbers. With their small, flexible contingent of members and their ability to specialize in a particular repertoire, such ensembles proved an attractive alternative for Early Musicians and contemporary musicians alike. As such, they could effectively challenge the mainstream orchestras by performing innovative and experimental works.

It is in this way that The Nederlands Impresariaat, an public institution created shortly after the war, took on an even more prominent role in the 1970s, as it shifted its focus from the promotion of soloists to chamber groups. As noted above, the late 1960s and 70s were marked by a dramatic drop in church attendance and deconfessionalization. Given that many churches were now empty on Sunday mornings, and, with this reduced church participation, people had more leisure time, the Impresariaat could now use these spaces as chamber music venues. The Impresariaat designed a new concert format, the *Koffieconcert* (coffee concert), which consisted of a short one- to one-and-a-half-hour program of chamber music, in a casual format, held on Sunday morning before church services. The Impresariaat would then subsidize the cost of renting the concert spaces. The success of this format created an enormous market for chamber musicians (Mulder 2001). The number of concerts organized by the Impresariaat increased from 695 in 1969 to 2035 in 1986, of which 1420 were chamber music concerts; by the mid-1980s, at the height of the format's popularity, the Impresariaat controlled some 70% of the market share for chamber music programming (Beijer and Samama 1989, 118). Because music from the Renaissance and the Baroque fit nicely into this format, the programming of Early Music ensembles increased dramatically.[61] Moreover, the churches proved to be ideal concert venues: the acoustics were good, they were "historically appropriate" for Early Music performance (particularly for sacred works), and they suited the goals of young musicians to seek alternative concert halls outside of the Classical music mainstream.

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[60] See Pots (2002, 365 and 557 n.1). Of these twenty-one orchestras, fourteen were financed directly by the federal government, and another five public broadcasting orchestras received government financing indirectly.

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[61] The Impresariaat's concerts no doubt partially account for the enormous programming increase in Baroque music from 1950 through 1970 (see page 178 above).

Members of the Early Music community had for years formed small ensembles, which were increasingly attracting the public's attention through their radio broadcasts and recordings (Van der Klis 127-140). The Impresariaat gave them new opportunities and a higher profile, however. Early Music specialists such as Frans Brüggen, Anner Bijlsma and Gustav Leonhardt, and the ensemble Syntagma Musicum, essentially began their performing careers in the Impresariaat's concert series. As these and other historical performers became more established, and as they began to take up conducting, they began to compete with modern orchestras and directors on the very same podia—the Netherlands' largest concert halls. New music programming, however, did not fare as well under the Impresariaat's *koffieconcerten*: churches likely proved less than ideal venues for dissonant and experimental music—and as such contemporary ensembles had to obtain a separate funding initiative from the Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work (Ministerie van Welvaart, Voksgezondheid en Cultuur, or WVC) to implement their own concert series (Beijer and Samama 1989, 118-9).

Early Music Education: From Huismuziek *to Professional Education in the Conservatories*

The 1960s and 70s were also marked by increases in funding to education, particularly the higher education sector. Between 1958 and 1968, the percentage of government funds allocated to education quintupled (Bank, Huizinga and Minderaa 1993, 191). These funding increases would also affect the music education system.

During this period, conservatories and local music schools expanded, and state music exams were reformed.[62]

Gradually, more historical instruments were added to conservatory programs. While harpsichord had been taught in the Netherlands since the late 1920s, the recorder was not added to the curriculum until 1955, after considerable effort by Kees Otten and Joannes Collette. When presenting their case for the recorder before a meeting of conservatory directors, they emphasized that Bach had composed for the instrument, thus legitimizing its status, and placing it on par with the violin (Van der Klis 1991, 105). This tactic was apparently successful, as Collette was subsequently appointed to the Utrecht Conservatory faculty. Kees Otten had already been teaching at the Amsterdamse Muzieklyceum, an independent institution outside of the government-regulated conservatories.

Otten's most famous student, Frans Brüggen, would do much to raise the profile of the recorder, not only within the Netherlands but also all over the world. One of the first recorder soloists of the 20th-century revival, his commercially successful recordings inspired many to take up the instrument. Hundreds of recorder players flocked to the Netherlands to study with Brüggen in The Hague. By 1971, only fifteen years after the recorder was added to the conservatory curriculum, a critic in *Mens en Melodie* complained about the oversupply of "professional" recorder players and "*imitatie-solists*" among them, and the gap in playing standards between the urban and provincial music schools (Schulte 1971).

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[62] For a more detailed examination of these trends, see Chapter Seven.

Recordings likewise helped to spread the reputation of Gustav Leonhardt beyond Dutch borders. As a conductor, his recordings of Bach cantatas made for the Telefunken Das Alte Werk series, in conjunction with Nikolaus Harnoncourt, were widely acclaimed. As a harpsichordist, Leonhardt's creative approach to articulation, and his advocacy for more faithful historical copies of instruments, distinguished him from other harpsichord soloists. His unique style of playing attracted many students to the Amsterdams Conservatorium, where he had been teaching since the early 1950s. With the establishment of the Early Music Department in The Hague, instruction was expanded there to include Baroque violin, flute, and viola da gamba. Gradually the Netherlands conservatories attained a reputation for their historical instrument faculty, and international enrollment soared.

It must be emphasized that prior to the early 1970s, the Netherlands had not been a leader in the field of historical instrument instruction. The first conservatory to offer training in historical performance was the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, founded by August Wenzinger and Paul Sacher in 1933. In Basel, professors sought to apply a more scholarly approach to the performance of pre-Classical repertoire, for example, by maintaining close ties to the University and to the city's historical instrument museum (Haskell 1996, 62-4). The founding of the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, then, had been one of the most important watersheds in the Early Music movement. Firstly, the Schola's attempt to raise performance standards marked a break with the movement's more amateurish factions, from the German Youth Movement and its espousal of *Hausmusik*, to Dolmetsch and his followers. Secondly, by linking musicological scholarship with performance training, it sought to move beyond the mere *revival* of pre-18th-century repertoire, towards a more modern, *historicizing* approach to its performance. Indeed, Gustav and Marie Leonhardt had both trained at the Schola in the late 1940s, and brought back aspects of this teaching philosophy to the Netherlands.

It is remarkable that, despite the importance of the Schola Cantorum, Switzerland has never established an Early Music scene as developed as that in the Netherlands. This indicates that educational institutions—i.e., conservatories with specialized instruction in historical performance—are but one factor in the growth of the Early Music movement as a whole. Unlike Switzerland, the Netherlands had already established a large audience for pre-1800 music prior to the addition of historical instruments to conservatory curricula; moreover, the extensive network of government support for the arts in the Netherlands helped support Dutch artists in the early stages of their careers.

Conclusions

The growth of the Dutch Early Music movement in the post-war years cannot simply be explained by the presence of its forceful artistic personalities, such as Gustav Leonhardt, Frans Brüggen, the Kuijken brothers, Ton Koopman, or the other Early Music "celebrities" active in the scene. While their contributions were unquestionably important, the unique cultural and socioeconomic factors characteristic of Dutch society in the post-war years caused the Early Music movement to develop quite differently from its counterparts in Germany, England, and the U.S.

One important factor was the existence, prior to the war, of a general interest in Baroque music in the Netherlands, especially in the music of J.S. Bach. While a strong Bach performance tradition is something the Dutch shared with their neighbouring countries, the fledgling historical performance movement took on an entirely different character in the Netherlands after the war. Ironically, the interest in Bach's music was especially cultivated by Mengelberg and the Concertgebouworkest—an institution whose conductor, programming, and playing style would ultimately be harshly criticized at the end of the war for Nazi collaboration, but also in the late 1960s, at the height of the Early Music movement's rise to prominence. At the same time, the close association of historical instruments such as the recorder, lute and viola da gamba with youth societies and amateur music-making organizations also helped to provide an educated audience for the performance of pre-1800 works. These societies, because they were suppressed or had moved underground during the Occupation, could position themselves as oppositional to the Classical music mainstream, and to the symphony orchestras in particular. As such, they provided an appealing, alternative musical outlet for young people.

A second factor was the tremendous economic growth in the Netherlands following the war, which funded the growth of the welfare state. Arts programs formed a key part of social policies in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Initially, funding was extended to mainstream institutions, such as the orchestras in urban centers, and the Holland Festival. The initial goal of these subsidies was to reinvigorate Dutch musical life through the promotion of Dutch artists and ensembles, both nationally and abroad. As the welfare state expanded in the 1960s and 70s, so too did arts programming, which increasingly took on a greater social function. Gradually, the distribution of government subsidies was made more egalitarian, as funding was extended beyond the elite institutions of mainstream Classical music to include everything from smaller ensembles, amateur music-making groups, non-western musics, and contemporary music. This move, which went beyond the mere *tolerance* of artistic difference, to the actual federal *subsidization* of different musical subcultures, worked to the benefit of historical performers as well. As performance groups began, more and more, to specialize in a particular repertoire, the religious and ideological pillars of traditional Dutch society took on a metaphorical extension into musical life. Indeed, while the establishment of the welfare state and a state-supported cultural infrastructure are post-war trends which can be observed in other Northern European countries, the Netherlands differed from its neighbours in its open-mindedness to, and financial support of, a wide variety of musical forms.

Thirdly, Early Musicians played an active part in the tremendous social changes and upheavals which occurred during the late 1960s and 70s. Early Music's association with counter-cultural movements and student protests gave it credibility to the younger generation, which had become disillusioned with the conservative, bourgeois, and materialist Dutch society of the 1950s. Historical performers were thus able to cross divides of pillar and social class: Early Music could, at once, be a "high art" music, appealing to the elite echelons of society, while at the same time, through its *huismuziek* and counter-cultural connections, it could maintain its status as a socially useful and relevant music.

Lastly, Early Music performances grew exponentially in popularity in the Netherlands through the first three quarters of the century—despite the profound socioeconomic changes in Dutch society—precisely because the movement itself was able to continually adapt itself to current trends. Historical performers met the demand for *vernieuwing* by adopting "new" instruments, unfamiliar repertoire, and smaller, more flexible ensembles. The historical performance movement displayed the capacity both to reinvent itself by absorbing current tastes in performance, and to remain thoroughly grounded in the traditions of the past.

As an epilogue, a reexamination of the *St. Matthew Passion* performance tradition in the Netherlands makes this point manifest. Incredibly, the tradition survived the disruption in concert life brought on by the *Notenkrakers*—after all, what could have been more representative of Christian values, and bourgeois concert-going practices, than attending a staid *St. Matthew Passion* performance on Palm Sunday?—but the two performance groups with which it was closely associated, the Concertgebouworkest and the Nederlandse Bachvereniging, did not emerge unscathed. The Concertgebouw, in an attempt to compete with historical instrument ensembles, which had begun performing the Passions in the mid-1970s, hired

Nikolaus Harnoncourt to lead the Orchestra for the 1975 performance of the *St. John Passion* (De Leur 1989, 137-38; Van Hasselt 1989, 188). In later years, other Early Music specialist conductors, such as Frans Brüggen, Ton Koopman and Philippe Herreweghe, would also direct the Passions (Van Driel 2000, 33).

The Nederlandse Bachvereniging, by contrast, had difficulty in maintaining its audience, now that it had to compete with both an "historically-informed" performance on modern instruments in the Concertgebouw, and with the Leonhardt Consort on period instruments. The director at this time, Charles de Wolff, was not able to establish a clear identity for the Bachvereniging, by which it could distinguish itself from the multitude of other Passion performances now taking place throughout the Netherlands. As a result, the Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work (WVC) threatened to cut its subsidy. In 1983, the Bachvereniging thus began performing on a special-project basis, and received subsidies to cover hiring costs for guest directors. De Wolff, in protest, assembled a large number of the choir's members, and started a new Passion tradition in Leiden (Van Driel 2000, 33). The Bachvereniging subsequently hired its *own* specialist conductor, Jos van Veldhoven, in 1984, restructured the choir into a smaller corps of professional singers, and established a period-instrument orchestra to accompany the choir (Wennekes 1997, 10).

What is remarkable about the rivalry between the Concertgebouworkest and the Bachvereniging is not just that the period instrument conductors and instrumentalists prevailed in the end. It also indicates the extent to which the federal government was now involved in the musical life of the Netherlands. Because it had the power to grant or deny funding to a musical organization, it could have considerable input into its direction. Still, the fact that a government ministry would concern itself with the performance choices of a Bach society is something which would only be likely to occur in the Netherlands.

CHAPTER SIX

BETWEEN CULTURE MINISTRY AND CULTURE INDUSTRY: EARLY MUSIC IN THE NETHERLANDS 1980-2005

Introduction

By the early 1980s, the Early Music movement in the Netherlands was beginning to come of age. Dutch institutions, organizations and performing ensembles associated with historical performance expanded and professionalized substantially during this period, distancing themselves from their humble origins in amateur, grassroots *huismuziek* and socialist youth groups. Major new ensembles were founded, such as the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra (1979) and the Orchestra of the Eighteenth Century (1981). Many existing groups were able to capitalize successfully on the groundswell of interest in Early Music established in the 1960s and 1970s, while at the same time broadening their audiences outside of the Netherlands.

In many ways, such events in the Netherlands were entirely in line with developments in the expanding global Early Music movement. One of the most significant trends during this period was the arrival of the full-fledged period instrument orchestra. While such ensembles have now become commonplace—a recent, though incomplete, survey lists some 38 ensembles currently active around the world (Carter and Levi 2003, 276-83)[1]—many first established their international reputations in the late 1970s and early 1980s by recording such repertoire as the complete Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven symphonies on historical instruments (Lawson 2003b, 158; Haskell 2001). With increasing exposure, experience and competition, both the quality of antique instrument reproduction and the playing standards of historical performers (especially their consistency and intonation) improved substantially (Haskell 1996, 189-91; 2001).

As period instrument orchestras explored ever later and more complex repertoire, a conductor in the more conventional sense became necessary, as opposed to direction from one of the members of the ensemble, such as the principal violinist or the continuo player. Though formal conducting had once been eschewed by some of Early Music's pioneers (Dreyfus 1983, 317-8), the spotlight on trendsetters within the movement began to shift from soloists and small chamber groups to larger ensembles of musicians and the artistic persona of their music director. Just as Gustav Leonhardt, having first established himself as a successful harpsichordist, began to take on conducting roles, so too did other prominent Dutch Early Music soloists of the 1970s, such as Ton Koopman and Frans Brüggen. International examples of this generation include Christopher Hogwood, Nicholas McGegan, the Kuijken brothers, Jordi Savall and William Christie. From repertoire to ensemble size, artistic direction and press recognition, many aspects of the Early Music movement by the 1980s were approaching the musical mainstream. As Richard Taruskin, originally writing in 1984, put it, “We now have our own star system, our personality cults and fan magazines, our hype machines and our beautiful people” (Taruskin 1995, 77).

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[1] There are notable errors and omissions in this list, including most of the American period-instrument orchestras. Three ensembles, The European Community Baroque Orchestra (now the European Union Baroque Orchestra), Il Fondamento and the Frankfurt Baroque Orchestra, are period groups which are incorrectly labelled. The New Queen's Hall Orchestra (1992), which specializes in the performance of early 20th-century music on period instruments, is also omitted, though it is discussed several times in Lawson (2003b). The recent founding of Simon Murphy's New Dutch Academy (2002) might bring the actual number to at least forty. However, the existence of numerous pick-up ensembles and smaller chamber groups which occasionally expand to orchestra size makes an accurate count impossible.

Several writers have attributed Early Music’s gradual encroachment into the pillars of traditional orchestral repertoire primarily to the promotion by, and decision-making of, recording companies (Lawson 2003b, 158; Haskell 1996, 129). As Haskell has observed,

> By the early 1970s the repercussions of the early music ‘boom’ could be felt outside early music circles. The revival’s centre of gravity shifted perceptibly to the Baroque and later periods, as early musicians and their patrons in the electronic media awakened to the benefits of giving a fresh twist to familiar repertory. (Haskell 2001)

In the Netherlands, one of the most important of such “patrons” was the Dutch electronics company Philips, inventor of the compact disc, which for many years was closely associated with Koopman and the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra, Gustav Leonhardt, and Brüggen and the Orchestra of the Eighteenth Century.[2] Following a slump in the 1970s, the recording industry began to recover and surge strongly in the

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[2] Also active in the Netherlands was the now-defunct French Erato label, which until recently was producing Koopman’s complete Bach cantata recordings with the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra and Choir. Erato was purchased by Warner, along with Teldec (a label whose catalogue included many Early Music performers, including Nikolaus Harnoncourt), both of which were later shut down due to financial problems. Koopman’s difficulties with Warner Classics will be discussed below.

1980s, largely due to the introduction of this digital technology. The CD, noted Chanan,

> …enjoys the chic of high-tech and the result was to reconstruct the market—more radically than at any time since the introduction of electrical recording in the 1920s—and once again to enable the record industry to buck the trend of world wide recession. (Chanan 1995, 167)

Ironically, Early Music groups, while rejecting modern instruments for their antique counterparts, have also been some of the most enthusiastic supporters of the latest laser technology.[3] As music collectors replaced their old LPs of meat-and-potatoes Classical repertoire with portable, digital, and scratch-resistant CDs, they could at the same time update more than merely the recording format. Classic recordings of Beethoven symphony cycles on vinyl with the world's premiere modern orchestras could be made to seem out of fashion, not only because of the analog technology, but also because they were not in keeping with the current, "historical" approach to style and performance practice. The role of record companies in promoting period instrument orchestras and encouraging the exploration of 18th-century symphonic repertoire and beyond certainly warrants closer examination.

In the Netherlands, however, record companies were not wholly responsible for Early Music's increasing identification with Baroque and Classical music. The situation there differed in several respects from other centres of historical performance, perhaps mostly notably England, one of its closest professional rivals.

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[3] See, for example, Archiv's full-page, colour ad on the inside back cover of the January 1990 issue of *Gramophone* (vol. 67, no.800), which proudly heralds "Early Music with the Latest Technology." "Early Music" here, however, refers not only to new recordings of pre-1800 repertoire, but also to CDs with period instruments *and* digitally remastered historical recordings on modern instruments. Thus,

To the Dutch, the Early Music revival had long extended its scope beyond the Medieval and Renaissance music championed by the Scola Cantorum, the Dolmetsch family, and other pioneers. Indeed, as I have argued earlier, Baroque music—especially the music of Johann Sebastian Bach—had been, on the whole, the driving force behind the movement there (see Chapter Five). By the late 1970s, Dutch audiences had already become familiar with the idea of performing 18th-century music on historical instruments, even some of the most sacred monuments of the High Baroque. Such groundbreaking productions as Leonhardt's period instrument *St. Matthew Passion* (1973) and headlining concerts at the 1979 Holland Festival by Hesperion XX and Musica Antiqua Köln attracted widespread critical attention. Extending the concept to larger ensembles and later repertoire was perhaps less controversial there than elsewhere in the Classical music world—especially when these period instrument performing groups were led by some of the most renowned of Dutch musicians.

Apart from an educated and appreciative audience for historically-informed performance, and an entrepreneurial recording company, Early Musicians in the Netherlands also possessed another key advantage over their peers in neighbouring countries: an established tradition of generous government support for the performing arts, which extended back to the post-war era. The role of government funding in supporting the Early Music movement as a whole—let alone in the

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CDs of artists such as Reinhard Goebel and Trevor Pinnock appear side-by-side with Heinz Holliger, Aurèle Nicolet, and Karl Richter.

Netherlands—has, however, come under comparatively little scrutiny. Sherman, in his conclusion to *Inside Early Music*, briefly observes that:

> We can't safely predict the extent of government support in coming decades, but we can note that in France and the Netherlands the generous government support, though probably not the key to the thriving early-music scenes there, has probably been a non-trivial factor. It has made it possible for hundreds of musicians to develop and pursue their art full-time. (1997, 398)

Sherman further cites a study by the Policy Studies Institute (London), which found that, "In 1987 the Netherlands and France spent ten times as much per capita on the arts as the US did". More recently, an article in the *New York Times* noted that the Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, or MinOCenW) spends the equivalent of US $400 million a year "directly on the arts—about $25 for every Dutch citizen", a figure which substantially dwarfs the National Endowment for the Arts' meagre $115 million budget, amounting to the spending of "40 cents for every American" (Szanto 2003).

While clearly a "non-trivial factor", the question remains, however, to what extent this government funding has directly had an impact on Early Music performing groups in the Netherlands, as Sherman supposes. It is important to recognize that Sherman was writing at a time of major political attacks on, and cutbacks to, the American National Endowment for the Arts. From this perspective, the situation for musicians and artists working in the Netherlands and other European countries with a history of extensive financial support for the arts and culture must indeed have seemed enviable when compared to that of their American counterparts. No doubt, such public services as a nationally-funded health care system, subsidized higher professional education, and generous social security benefits, offer many advantages to Dutch musicians. However, a closer look at the Dutch situation post-1980 reveals a rather more complex relationship between the impact of government arts subsidization and the strength of the Early Music movement.[4]

During the 1960s and 1970s, government subsidies were no doubt instrumental in establishing a number of prominent Early Music performers, chamber music ensembles, and institutions, such as conservatories and concert series. As noted in Chapter Two, this growth in the Dutch Early Music movement coincided with the peak period of growth and expansion in the Dutch welfare state. However, the early 1980s—precisely the period pinpointed by Taruskin, Haskell, Lawson and others as marking the attainment of large-scale commercial and critical success for Early Music—also coincided with a global recession and high unemployment rates in the Netherlands.[5] It also marked the beginning of a period of retrenchment in the social welfare state, a process of cutbacks and *bezuinigingen* (economizing) which continues to date under the present Balkenende administration (Rochon 1999, 213-224; Andeweg and Irwin 2002, 186-192). This process of economizing has affected successive culture budgets, not only through outright spending cutbacks, but also through ministerial restructuring, a streamlining of granting agency administration and bureaucracy, and the transfer of funds from the federal to provincial and municipal levels.

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[4] One might further note that France, also cited above by Sherman for its generous arts subsidies, has not, until relatively recently, supported a thriving Early Music movement.

[5] Unemployment in the Netherlands was as high as 16 percent in the early 1980s, and hovered around 10 percent throughout the decade (Rochon 1999, 211-213).

As a result, Early Music institutions in the Netherlands have had a complicated and problematic relationship with major government organizations over the past twenty-five years, in particular the MinOCenW's major granting agency, the Raad voor Cultuur (Council for Culture), and its predecessor, the Raad voor de Kunst (Council for the Arts). In part, this stems from a longstanding Dutch ambiguity about the role the government should play in the Netherlands' artistic and cultural life. This may seem a peculiar statement to make about a country whose Ministry of Education, Culture and Science is the largest of all the ministries, and whose budget, in recent years, has amounted to more than twenty percent of the federal government's overall spending.[6] Indeed, it is not for nothing that Szanto (2003) remarks, "For years, the running joke about Dutch arts funding was that entire warehouses were filled with works that the state had acquired from their creators in return for monthly checks."[7] While it is true that the Dutch were content to *fund* the arts generously during the period of expansion in the welfare state, they had nevertheless been reluctant to determine or shape artistic *policy*, or to interfere explicitly with the artistic direction of cultural organizations. As the Dutch sociologist Warna Oosterbaan Martinius aptly remarked, "The government's greater financial commitment to the arts went hand in hand with an increased detachment from its content" (1990, 211).

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[6] See MinOCenW 2003b, p.9, table 1.3. The OCenW expenditures as a percentage of central government spending are listed as follows: 20.2 (1997), 20.5 (1998), 20.6 (1999), 21.2 (2000), and 20.0 (2001), the last year for which figures were available. Note that page references are to those in the document itself, and not to the PDF file pagination, which differs slightly.

[7] This is not mere hyperbole. Szanto is referring to the Fine Arts Program, or Visual Artists Financial Assistance Scheme (*Beeldende Kunstenaars Regeling*, BKR), through which the government supported Dutch artists by purchasing their works. This program, begun 1930s, subsidized some 3,000 artists by 1980, resulting in the purchase of 20,000 art works by various levels of government; by the early 1980s, about 200,000 works had been purchased (Rochon 1999, 206). The BKR was substantially restructured and eventually abolished in 1987; it was replaced with the *Wet Inkomensvoorziening Kunstenaars*, or WIK, in 1999 (Pots 2002, 344; MinOCenW 1999c, §4.5.1).

This position of government neutrality and seeming disconnection from artistic affairs stems back to the highly-influential writings of the Liberal prime minister Jan Rudolf Thorbecke (1798-1872), who maintained that it was not the business of government to support, or meddle in, the affairs of artists.[8] Indeed, Thorbecke's remarks have often been invoked in even the most recent MinOCenW policy statements, such as the newly-revised booklet *Cultural Policy in the Netherlands*:

> The famous maxim propounded in 1862 by the liberal Prime Minister Johan Rudolf Thorbecke, 'the government is not a judge of science or art', meant that the state should not, as a matter of principle, express any opinion on the content of the arts and sciences, nor did it wish to decide what direction they should take. Over 150 years later this principle still applies, witness the government's practice of leaving judgments on the content of art and culture to outside advisory bodies. (MinOCenW 2003a, 39)

Despite the above statement by the Ministry, this Thorbeckian ideal of artistic freedom and independence from government involvement has not, in fact, retained its inviolable status. The administration of prime minister Ruud Lubbers (1982-1994), which instigated a period of cutbacks to the social welfare state, also began at the same time to involve itself more directly in the country's cultural life. This was accomplished through clearer policy directives issued by successive ministers of the Ministerie van Welzijn, Volksgezondheid en Cultuur (WVC, or Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs) and the Ministerie van OCenW, which later took over this docket. Attempts to curb federal spending and to reign in the soaring national deficit, which had grown beyond taxpayers' ability to pay (Rochon 1999, 213), also resulted in efforts by the ministries to justify expenditures on culture and to increase artists' accountability to the public and the government-subsidized granting agencies.

How, then, does one reconcile the fact that a huge surge in the historical performance movement in the Netherlands occurs precisely during bleak economic times and a major restructuring of culture funding? Dutch Early Music ensembles seem to have rather successfully navigated fluctuations in the market economy and shifts in government arts policy directives through a combination of flexibility, economizing, and entrepreneurship. Unlike the full-scale symphony orchestras in the Netherlands, which have, since World War Two, been entitled to generous subsidies for operating expenses, Early Music organizations were forced from the beginning to work on limited budgets, and to scramble for funding from a variety of sources, both public and private. Thus, until very recently, reductions to the federal culture budget have had less of a direct impact on historical performers than on the more subsidy-dependent modern orchestras and opera companies. Moreover, because historical performers are freelancers and operate on a contract or project basis, they do not receive the fulltime salaries and benefits of their peers in mainstream orchestras, and they have not tended to unionize in an attempt to increase their wages (Koopman 2004). This has resulted in reduced operating costs for the top Baroque orchestras, when compared to their modern-instrument counterparts.

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[8] Note that the Liberal Party in the Netherlands, the VVD (*Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie*, or

The unique nature of the culture industry in the Netherlands, with its combined approach of heavy government subsidy—with varying degrees of policy intervention—and a free market has most certainly influenced the way the historical performance movement has developed in the past twenty years. The willingness of both musicians and administrators in Early Music organizations to accept lower wages, and more modest concert seasons and touring schedules, has reduced the direct impact of economic fluctuations and cuts to the culture budget on their operations. Still, they have not been immune to changes in either the public or private sectors in recent years. While several of the administrators I interviewed were proud to discuss how they ran their organizations on a shoestring budget, they did not eschew government support when it was offered (e.g., through an operating subsidy from the Raad voor Cultuur), and complained most vociferously when funding was reduced or cut. Government policy statements have sometimes had an impact on their programming: prioritization of multiculturalism and *diversiteit* by the Raad have coincided, for example, with increased collaboration by organizations such as the Stichting Organisatie Oude Muziek (the Organization for Early Music, or STOOM) with non-Western music ensembles and Rasa, the Utrecht-based centre for world music and culture. In turn, the MinOCenW has been content to capitalize on the success of the historical performance movement for its own ends. In its recent four-year funding recommendation statements, the Ministerie's Raad voor Cultuur has praised the Orchestra of the 18th Century and the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra

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People's Party for Freedom and Democracy), is "liberal" in the Classical sense, i.e., libertarian, in its for their distinguished representation of Dutch culture abroad, while State Secretary of Culture Rick van der Ploeg cited the Dutch Baroque orchestras as being models of subsidy-to-ticket-sales efficiency.

While Early Music groups have had an excellent record of strong audience support and ticket sales, they have not been unaffected by recent changes in the culture industry. The boom in the classical music recording industry of the 1980s and its subsequent bust in the late 1990s have had a profound effect on both established Dutch Early Musicians, as well as newer professionals breaking into the field. As it has become increasingly difficult for them to obtain major recording contracts and attract new audiences, Early Music organizations will be forced to adapt to both market conditions and government funding priorities if they are to survive into the 21st century.

An examination of developments in the Dutch Early Music movement, in the context of both government arts policies and the volatile music industry, will illustrate this process of continuous change and adaptation. I will focus on the policy statements of the federal cabinet in particular, from the administration of Ruud Lubbers through to current prime minister Jan-Peter Balkenende (2002-), because the national culture budget is the most substantial, the grant amounts are the easiest to document, and because the funding priorities set the tone for all three levels of government.

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advocacy for limited government involvement in the lives of its citizens.

The 1980s: Cultural Policy and Cutbacks under Lubbers

During the difficult period of the 1980s recession, when attempts were made to curb government spending in order to stimulate economic growth, it was not surprising that the national social welfare and culture budgets were likewise significantly affected. L.C. (Elco) Brinkman, a Christian Democrat who served as minister of WVC under the first two Lubbers cabinets (1982-1989), spearheaded the first in a major series of changes to cultural policy and subsidy-granting procedures that would have a profound impact on the performing arts sector in the next two decades.

Brinkman's proposals, which are outlined in two ministerial policy statements, the *Discussienota* (1983), and the *Notitie Cultuurbelied* (1985), emphasize a more pragmatic and systematic approach to national arts policy. In the 1970s, Brinkman alleged, too much importance had been placed on cultural "renewal" for its own sake (i.e., on the elite professional and avant-garde artists) and not enough on "quality" (Pots 2002, 325). His emphasis on "*topkunst*" was critiqued in the press and by the opposition parties, who felt that the minister's policies were elitist and represented value judgments about artistic quality inconsistent with the government's previously neutral stance. Indeed, Brinkman's views were in many respects a radical departure from prior administrations' "ideology of well-being", as the Ministry of Culture has termed it (MinOCenW 1999b 3.7.2). This position had been central to the cultural policies of the 1970s, where the importance of the arts to society at large and universal participation were emphasized.

One of the most ambitious plans initiated by the Lubbers administration was the radical restructuring of the federal government in an attempt to shrink its overall size, reduce costs, and improve efficiency and accountability to the taxpayer. Civil service jobs were cut, salaries frozen, and the government's external advisory agencies were streamlined (Rochon 1999, 215). Likewise, Brinkman worked toward similar goals in the culture sector. One of his most significant acts was to eliminate "*koppelsubsidies*", coupled (matching) subsidies for arts and cultural institutions from different levels of government, which had been in place since 1918 (Pots 2002, 210; 328). In this way, Brinkman hoped both to cut costs and to free up funding for new initiatives, especially in the performing arts. In a similar manner, Brinkman undertook a major reorganization of the Raad voor de Kunst, the council responsible for the granting of substantial federally-funded subsidies to arts organizations. The Raad, which had previously been an agent of critique and sometime opposition to the Ministry of WVC, became instead, through the installation of new leadership, an organ designed explicitly to carry out the goals of ministerial policy statements (Pots 2002, 330).

By granting the federal government more power in determining a unified, national arts policy and in setting specific funding priorities, Brinkman's reforms were in some ways inconsistent with Lubbers's strategy of decentralization. The aim, however, was an overall reduction in the size of bureaucracy in the cultural sector:

Brinkman was seeking to eliminate policy chaos by unifying guidelines, and by reducing redundancy and inefficiency between the various levels of government. While provinces and municipalities were expected to fall into line with federal policy, Brinkman chose to delegate specific tasks (and targeted funds) to lower levels of government, such as educational programming or smaller-scale local projects (Pots 2002, 348-51; 552 n.93).

The symphony orchestras were perhaps the most radically affected by Brinkman's policies, and they were targeted specifically in his *Plan voor het kunstbeleid 1988-1992* (MinWVC 1987; Pots 2002, 330). Their large number (twenty-one) and generous subsidization made them an easy scapegoat. Since the post-war era, the funding for orchestras had increased substantially, and by the 1960s, they were allocated by far the greatest percentage of the music budget—as much as 81 percent in 1966 (Pots 2002, 365). Furthermore, despite the jolting effects of the *Notenkrakersaktie* upon Dutch concert life, the orchestras continued to be criticized by the press and Dutch composers for their lack of programming innovation and the restricted career opportunities they presented for younger professional musicians. One of Brinkman's first priorities, then, was to reorganize these lynchpins of the music sector in an attempt to free up funding for other projects.

Brinkman began by revoking the subsidies of five provincial orchestras in 1983, a move which was met with much resistance and protests, not only from the musicians, but also from the regional governments, local lobbying groups, and even the Tweede Kamer.[9] He had greatly underestimated the extent to which the provinces identified with and valued their local symphonies, and, perhaps even more so, how much they resented intrusion by *randstad*[10] politicians into regional affairs (Pots 2002, 366). While Brinkman was forced to compromise somewhat on his original plan, cutbacks resulted in the eventual merger of several regional orchestras, a process which continues to date.[11] The elimination of the *koppelsubsidies* to performing arts organizations in 1985 returned some *ƒ*56 million from the provinces to the federal government (with the vast majority, *ƒ*41.5 million, coming from the orchestras). This amounted to a significant political victory, of sorts, by the federal government over the regions and a noteworthy change of tack against the decentralization process in other sectors of the administration (Pots 2002, 367, 557 n. 7).

Ironically, this radical restructuring of the orchestra establishment—about which Brinkman himself professed mixed feelings—resulted in a mere *ƒ*7 million for new programming in 1986.[12] Other government statistics, however, indicate the broader impact of across-the-board funding cuts to the culture sector. Figures from the Ministry of OCenW for the years 1975 to 1985 (MinOCenW 1999b, Table 2) indicate that, while there is no real deduction to the arts budget in terms of overall guilders spent, it nevertheless shrinks substantially in relation to national government spending:

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[9] The Second Chamber, or lower house of the Dutch parliament.

[10] The *randstad* is the "rim" of Dutch cities in the more populous Western side of the country (i.e., Amsterdam, Haarlem, The Hague, Rotterdam). There are longstanding tensions between the more cosmopolitan, liberal *randstad* and the other regions of the country, mainly based on language (Friesland) or accent/dialect, and religion (the Catholic south, vs. the conservative Protestant northeast).

[11] The latest orchestra to be threatened at the time of this writing is the Radio Symphonie Orkest (RSO), which will now be eliminated with upcoming cuts to the broadcasting budget.

TABLE 2[13]

NATIONAL ARTS BUDGET 1975-1995

Year	National budget Millions of guilders	Arts budget Millions of guilders	Arts budget as % of national budget
1975	62,815	140.80	0.22
1980	111,611	222.20	0.20
1985	179,128	311.00	0.17
1990	176,761	408.70	0.23
1995	233,282	438.60	0.19

Even more important than what these figures indicate are the repercussions Brinkman's policies would have in the ensuing decades. In his attempts to bring fiscal restraint and coherence to cultural policy, Brinkman had, through the course of public debate, brought some key issues to a head: namely, what was the role of the symphony orchestra in Dutch musical life (and how many professional orchestras could the country afford to support); and, to what extent should the government be responsible for subsidizing the operating costs of its cultural institutions—especially those outside the less populous *randstad*? Brinkman had set a precedent for increased federal involvement in, and management of, cultural affairs, and his successors in

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[12] The rest of the funds were diverted towards the completion and grand opening of the Muziektheater in Amsterdam (Pots 2002, 367).

[13] Figures through 1990 are cited directly from Oosterbaan Martinius 1990, Table 1, p. 50; figures for 1995 were provided by the MinOCenW. The slight rise in the federal arts amount for 1990 did not affect the performing arts budget. It reflects a ƒ25,892,000 addition for Letters, which had been shifted to another sector, and compiled into the total culture amount by Oosterbaan Martinius to make the figures more comparable with preceding years (1990, 178-9, n.52).

Ministry of WVC (and, eventually, the Ministry of OCenW) would continue to grapple with these thorny problems in the coming years.

Early Music Ensembles of the 1980s: Historicism on a Budget

Having painted thus far a rather bleak picture for performing arts groups under the Lubbers administration, it would seem that this climate would hardly be conducive to the undertaking of major new initiatives by professional Classical musicians. While, on the one hand, it might have been more difficult for them to obtain major subsidies, Early Musicians, on the other hand, benefited indirectly from Brinkman's reforms to the culture sector.

By far the most important explanation for the continued success of the Dutch Early Music movement during this period was economic. Having successfully established a base of grassroots support in the 1970s, Early Music groups showed that they were able to adapt successfully to the lean fiscal circumstances of the 1980s. The enormous operating expenses involved in maintaining a full-sized, modern symphony orchestra no doubt made the smaller period instrument orchestras, with their flexible personnel sizes and contract-based working scheme, seem more efficient. The Orchestra of the 18th Century, for example, has some 60 members and meets for short tours approximately four times a year. By contrast, the Netherlands' most prestigious conventional symphony orchestra, the Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra, currently has about 119 musicians. Lower overhead and a more modest performing schedule meant that these Early Music groups could survive with only moderate government support, such as small project grants which supplemented the funds generated from ticket sales and recordings.

Performers and administrators with whom I spoke frequently described how they managed to operate their organizations on scarcely more than an idealistic musical vision and a shoestring budget. Jan Nuchelmans, one of the original directors of the Holland Festival Oude Muziek Utrecht (which was first held in 1982), stated that his financial resources were "minimal" compared to the Holland Festival, from which they eventually branched off—so much so that the Utrecht Festival acquired a "bad name" for paying its musicians poorly and for giving out few complementary tickets.[14] However, the Festival was nonetheless able to attract new talent as it acquired prestige: it was said that one could make a name in Utrecht. Nuchelmans cited a number of ensembles who either made their international debut or acquired recording contracts as a result of their Festival performances: The Freiburger Barockorchester, the Gabrielli Consort, Les Musiciens du Louvre, and Les Arts Florissants (Nuchelmans 2003a).

Still other administrators asked for salary concessions from group members during the founding years of their ensembles. Ton Koopman managed to convince the musicians of Musica Antiqua Amsterdam (a predecessor of the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra) to play for only *ƒ*75[15] a concert at first, with no paid rehearsals;

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[14] While this might seem trivial, according to Nuchelmans, the Holland Festival lost *ƒ*200,000 worth of free tickets one year—an amount that was almost half of the Early Music festival's entire budget at the time.

[15] About €34.

those traveling from out of town stayed with family and friends, rather than hotels, to save money (Koopman 2004). The small grants he received from government-sponsored funds or private foundations were used to defray the costs of touring or to purchase an instrument. Lucy van Dael, the former leader of the Orchestra of the Eighteenth Century, was responsible not only for marking parts and coordinating the string playing, but also worked closely with Frans Brüggen on the group's administration and tour organization during its first few years. The musicians were asked to do the first tour without payment, with the understanding that their participation would pay for itself later (Van Dael 2004).

At the same time that the Utrecht Festival, the Orchestra of the 18th Century, and the ABO were able to manage with few financial resources, they were also drawing ever larger and appreciative audiences. The grassroots, alternative Early Music movement of the 1970s grew, transformed and expanded its base in the 1980s with increasing visibility and public interest. Jan Nuchelmans, who began his administrative career in 1977 by organizing an Early Music chamber music series in Utrecht, was able to successfully apply his experience, professional connections and musicological background to the more ambitious Festival project. He noted that the Utrecht Festival was able to capitalize on the already-sizeable Dutch audience for Early Music established by the pioneering musicians of the 1960s and 1970s, recordings, and radio (e.g., Marijke Ferguson's popular Renaissance and Medieval radio music programmes, which he himself had listened to as a teenager). The Festival's formula proved highly successful: the location, in the centre of the country, helped to unify this fragmented audience; the use of historic buildings and churches as venues provided an appropriate atmosphere; and the timeframe, at the end of the summer holidays, did not conflict with other major musical events in the Netherlands. Indeed, the first indications of critical acclaim and audience support were impressive. The Festival attracted a respectable 25,000 visitors in its first year (1982), peaking at a maximum of 75,000 under Nuchelman's directorship (Nuchelmans 2003a).[16] Shortly thereafter, the first book-length profile of the Early Music movement would prominently feature the Utrecht Festival as its star attraction (Cohen and Snitzer, 1985).

Despite these successes, there is evidence to support these Early Music administrators' claims of relative neglect by federal granting agencies. A perusal of its documents on arts policy indicates that the federal government does not seem to have immediately grasped the significance of the new period instrument orchestras in the Netherlands, but rather became more involved in their financing later. According to the Raad voor de Kunst's bulletin, Brinkman requested the council's advice in February 1986 in developing a subsidy plan for the Early Music sector (Raad voor de Kunst 1987). Brinkman specifically referred to historical performers in his "Brief over het kunstbeleid" and in the *Plan voor het kunstbeleid 1988-1992* (Brinkman 1987; MinWVC 1987, 40, 49).

That the Raad's Department of Music and Dance had to consult outside experts in formulating its recommendations suggests a surprising lack of familiarity with the Netherlands' successes in this area.[17] The author(s) of the Raad's report seem embarrassed by the federal government's minimal financial support for the Utrecht Festival, the Orchestra of the 18th Century, and the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra. At that time, only the Utrecht Festival received a structural (operating) subsidy as a subsidiary of the Holland Festival. As for the period instrument orchestras, the Raad indicates that they had made funding agreements directly with the MinWVC—without the Raad's knowledge—which could only represent a scraping at the bottom of the budgetary barrel.[18] With its contribution of a mere *f*250,000 to both orchestras combined, the government was "getting off cheaply".[19] Other organizations, such as the Nederlands Impresariaat (which paid the honoraria of chamber musicians), the Nederlandse Bachvereniging and the Stichting Organisatie Oude Muziek, received some subsidy money in the past, as did smaller organizations from the general allocation to Music and Music Theater; however, this was the first attempt by the Raad and the MinWVC to develop a more unified approach to funding in this area.

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[16] Current Festival literature puts the average number of visitors at about 50,000 (STOOM 2004).

The Raad resolved to maintain, or increase slightly, funding to the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra (ABO), the Orchestra of the 18th Century, the Festival Oude Muziek and the Stichting Organisatie Oude Muziek (with additional funds granted for its year-round concert series, the Netwerk Oude Muziek), and the Bachvereniging. It recommended in some cases the shift of funding from a project-based to a structural subsidy. The resulting total was *f*770,000 for the Early Music sector—pending the availability of funds from the restructuring of the music budget.[20]

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[17] *De Afdeling [Muziek en Dans] besloot enkele deskundigen van buiten de Raad te vragen haar te preadviseren* (Raad voor de Kunst 1987, 9).

[18] *Met de twee genoemde orkesten heeft het department van WVC—buiten medeweten van de Raad—susidieafspraken gemaakt die slechts als sluitpost op de exploitatie gekenmerkt kunnen worden* (Raad voor de Kunst 1987, 9).

[19] *Weliswaar heeft dit te maken met de onorthodoxe wijze waarop de twee ensembles functioneren, maar toch lijkt het rijk met een bijdrage van totaal 2,5 ton aan twee zo eminente orkesten er goedkoop af te komen* (Raad voor de Kunst 1987, 9).

It is precisely this restructuring—i.e., the *orkestenoperatie*, or the reorganization of the symphony orchestras—which, as noted earlier, resulted in some *f*7 million for programming innovation in the music sector. The targets of these newly-available funds were indicated by Brinkman in his *Plan voor het kunstbeleid*: chamber music, jazz, pop music and *scheppende toonkunst*—creative and improvised musics, and composition (MinWVC 1987, 10). Of this, about *f*1,500,000 was specifically earmarked for "(conducted) chamber music ensembles and music- and music theatre productions."[21] The significance of the word *conducted* added in parentheses will shortly become clear.

Brinkman believed that the symphony orchestras, which until recently had faced little competition to challenge their importance to the country's musical life, must now yield to "less institutionalized sectors of music"; he observed that "the emancipation, and a growing specialization in other sectors and in the music sector in particular" had challenged the orchestras' monopoly.[22] Significantly, he cites both the Dutch period instrument orchestras and contemporary groups as leaders in this new trend of specialized ensembles pushing the boundaries of traditional orchestral repertoire:

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[20] *Zolang de beoogde herverdeling van kunstengelden nog niet geëffectueerd is valt te overwegen de bovengenoemde verhoging ten laste te brengen van het muziekprojectenbudget* (Raad voor de Kunst 1987, 11).

[21] *Ongeveer f1 5000 000 van de door de «orkestenoperatie» vrijkomende middelen zal worden besteed aan (gedirigeerde) kamermuziekensembles en muziek- en muziektheaterprojecten* (MinWVC 1987, 23).

[22] *Zoals bekend wat de belangrijkste overweging voor de herstructurering van het orkestenbestel, dat deze sector, in financiële zin, ruimte moest afstaan aan minder geïnstitutionaliseerde sectoren van de*

> As examples for the music of the Baroque and early Classical periods, one can name the Orchestra of the 18th Century and the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra at the forefront, and for the music of this century, the Schönberg Ensemble and the Asko-ensemble.[23]

That these four ensembles, in particular, will benefit directly from the cutbacks to the modern orchestras is made unequivocal later in the document:

> The intended regrouping, or as the case may be, reconsideration of tasks [by the symphony orchestras] shall, together with the adjustment of the radio orchestras, free space for, among others, the priorities of the music sector, namely music and musical theatre projects, and specialized activities in the field of early and 20th-century music, where consideration is particularly given to *the larger, conducted ensembles* [emphasis mine].[24]

In other words, not *all* Early Music groups were eligible for special funding, but only large ensembles with music direction—by default the period instrument orchestras. The government effectively redefined the meaning of the term *oude muziek* for its own priorities: no longer encompassing all music composed prior to 1800, it instead refers here specifically to the music of the Baroque and Classical eras.

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muziek....De emancipatie en een toenemende specialisatie, in andere sectoren en de eigen sector van de muziek, bracht echter verandering in die situatie (MinWVC 1987, 40).

[23] *Als voorbeelden voor de muziek uit de Barok en de vroeg klassieke periode kunnen worden genoemd het aantreden van het Orkest van de XVIIIe eeuw en het Amsterdams Barok Orkest, en voor de muziek van deze eeuw, het Schönberg Ensemble en het Asko-ensemble* (*ibid*, 40).

[24] *De beoogde hergroepering c.q. herbezinning op taken zal samen met de inpassing van de omroeporkesten ruimte vrijmaken voor onder andere de prioriteiten uit de sector muziek, te weten muziek- en muziektheaterprojecten en gespecialiseerde activiteiten op het gebied van de oude en de*

The Recording Industry: Major Labels Enter the Picture

An initial lack of funding from government sources required Early Musicians to seek financial support elsewhere, for example from corporate sponsors, but primarily from audience returns and commercial endeavours: touring, ticket sales, and the recording industry. Frans Brüggen and Ton Koopman, having established their careers as virtuoso soloists, were subsequently able to use their reputations to their advantage when forming larger ensembles. They could recruit their most talented colleagues to their orchestras, sometimes importing musicians from abroad, while also attracting sponsors and recording contracts.

In an interview with this author, Koopman spoke at length about the important role recording companies in particular played in promoting and subsidizing the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra and other Early Music ensembles. In the 1970s, he noted, it was not difficult to get a recording contract, as the bigger companies were just beginning to record historical instruments. Pioneers in the Early Music field, such as Archiv and Teldec, found that it was less expensive to record period groups than modern symphonies, and, as the reputation of musicians like Harnoncourt grew, their names helped to sell recordings of lesser-known repertoire such as Biber. After seeing the success of the smaller labels in this area, larger corporations such as Philips and Decca got into the act, and were also on the lookout for interesting ensembles and soloists to record. Christopher Hogwood, who had worked with

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20e-eeuwse muziek, waarbij met name gedacht wordt aan de grotere, gedirigeerde ensembles (*ibid.*, Decca as a member of David Munrow's Early Music Consort of London, was able to continue his relationship with them, in order to record later High Baroque repertoire with his own ensemble. Koopman began recording with his orchestra, which eventually became the ABO, on Harlequin, a small label. Here, "everything was possible": he was able to use his own recording team, and he received a budget and considerable artistic freedom. As the smaller labels merged with larger corporations, Koopman continued to have a positive relationship with them on the whole, working at times with Teldec, Philips, and eventually with Erato, beginning in the early 1980s.

On the other hand, an examination of the Orchestra of the 18th Century's relationship with Philips Classics is also telling for what it reveals about the marketing of period instrument ensembles by one of the major labels. Unlike Koopman's Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra, the Orchestra of the 18th Century had already been performing and touring for four years before the record company became involved—despite Brüggen's impressive resumé as a recorder soloist and recording artist.[25] Donna Agrell, the Orchestra's long-time second bassoonist, noted that the first recordings produced were Mozart's Symphony no. 40, K.550, and Beethoven's Symphony no. 1, op.21 (Agrell 2004; Orchestra of the 18th Century 1985).[26] Agrell further commented on the Orchestra's particular manner of producing CDs: most were live concert recordings, usually made at the end of a tour, often in

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49).

[25] The Orchestra recorded with Philips until the mid-1990s, and now records for The Grand Tour, its own label, which is distributed by Glossa (Orchestra of the 18th Century 2004).

[26] This is confirmed by the discography provided by the Orchestra's official website. See http://www.orchestra18c.com/discograf.htm and

Utrecht's Vredenburg concert hall, with a few corrections made later.[27] These recordings were then sold to Philips, who manufactured, marketed and distributed them. In this way, the Orchestra could produce recordings economically, within a very limited timeframe. Nevertheless, Agrell noted that while this was probably a cheaper production method for Philips, the musicians got used to working in this highly-efficient manner, and eventually found that it was a "very good method." Certainly one could argue that the resultant recordings are more spontaneous and less "sanitized" than those produced in a studio.

Having purchased and produced these recordings at low cost, Philips does not seem to have invested heavily in their publicity, at least at first. A survey of Philips's advertisements in periodicals such *Gramophone* and *Fanfare*, as well as the specialist journal *Early Music*, suggests that the promotion of the Orchestra of the 18th Century's recordings was not initially a high priority, likely because the company did not anticipate returns that would justify such an investment. A modest announcement of the first CD appears in the February 1986 issue of *Gramophone* (p.1040), where it is buried among a list of more than thirty other new releases by Philips. No ads appear in *Fanfare* prior to May 1987, and advertisements in *Early Music*— seemingly the most logical placement, given the target audience—do not appear until May and November of 1987.[28] Heavier promotion by the record company of the Orchestra's recordings did not come until the late 1980s and early 1990s, despite the fact that

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http://www.orchestra18c.com/images/cds/mo40_eerstecd.jpg for the album's original CD cover ("*eerste cd*" is "first CD" in Dutch).

[27] Agrell's account is confirmed by Brüggen (1990) in a profile in *Gramophone.*

their reviews were generally very favourable and that other competing period instrument ensembles, such as The Academy of Ancient Music and the London Classical players, had already made considerable headway into the market.[29]

A comparison with Philips's advertisements for the conventional Classical music artists on its roster is very striking. Far from touting the superior "benefits" of performing 18th-century music on historical instruments in order to sell more records, Philips continued to heavily publicize new releases of the same, or similar repertoire, on modern instruments—sometimes even on the same page. Typical is an ad which appeared in the March/April 1987 issue of *Fanfare* (See Figure 1). The Orchestra of the 18th Century's recording of Mozart's Symphonies no. 31 and 35 appears right alongside "pop" classical CDs such as Andrew Lloyd Webber and Nino Rota, modern orchestra renditions of Beethoven and Haydn, and standard works by Mahler, Debussy, Stravinsky and Tchaikovsky. Note the lone distinguishing mark on Brüggen's CD—a tiny banner proclaiming "Period Instruments!" Yet another ad, appearing in the July 1988 issue of *Gramophone* (p.165), pits three mainstream Classical stars—Midori, André Previn and the Beaux Arts Trio—against three Early Musickers, Gustav Leonhardt, John Eliot Gardiner, and Frans Brüggen (See Figure 2).[30] Here, Mozart is the common composer bridging both the modern and period

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[28] Remarkably, Philips's most recent ad in *Early Music* prior to this issue was in April 1980 (p.267), which featured their mid-priced "Living Baroque" series (almost exclusively on modern instruments).

[29] As such, these observations about Philips's advertising methods are quite different from the received view, i.e., that the recording industry had heavy promoted Early Music ensembles from the beginning (see p. 232 above).

[30] A cynic might argue that the placement of the historical performers below the other three, on the bottom of the page, clearly suggests the company's marketing priorities.

FIGURE 1

Fanfare 10, no. 4 (March/April 1987), p.17

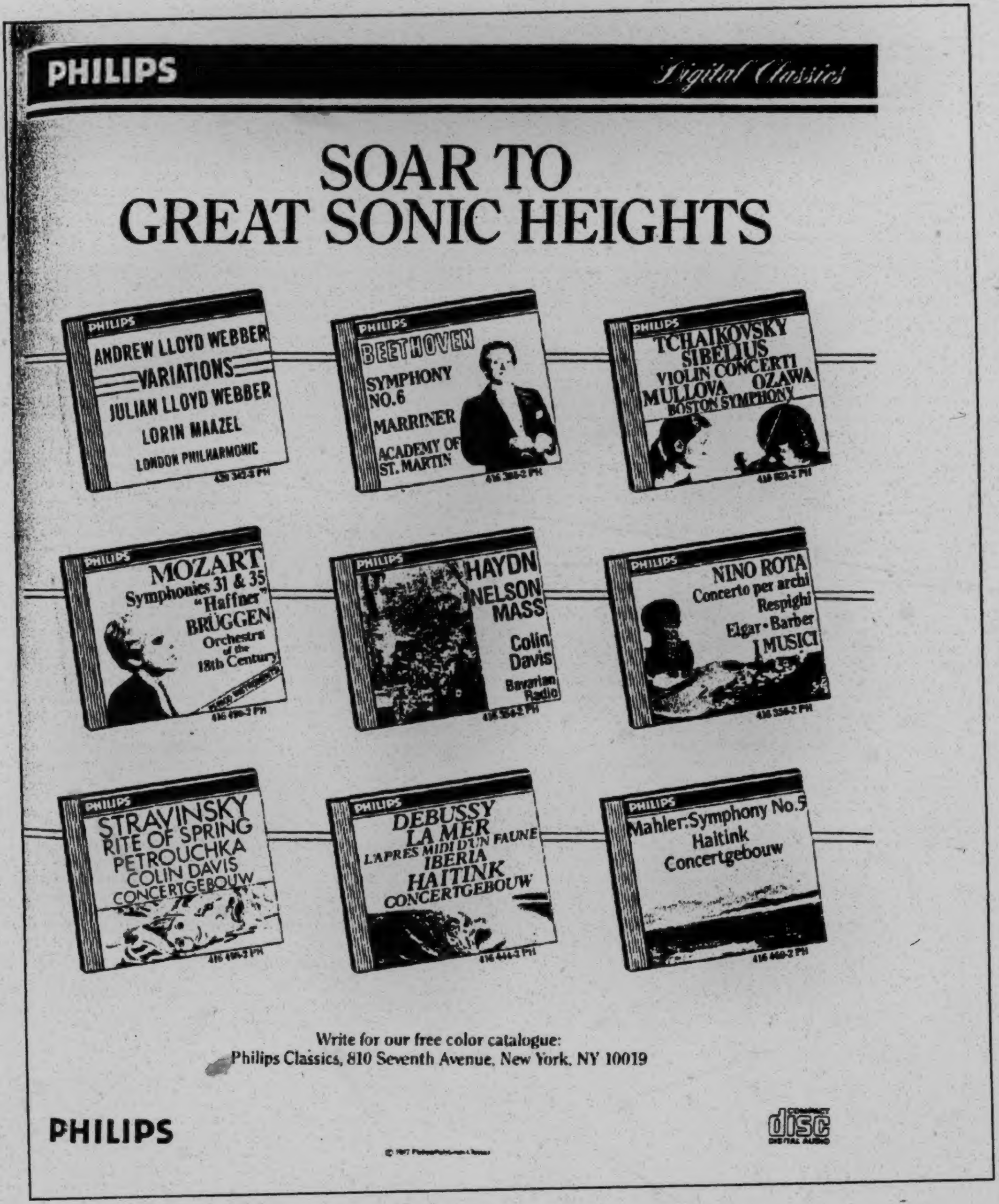

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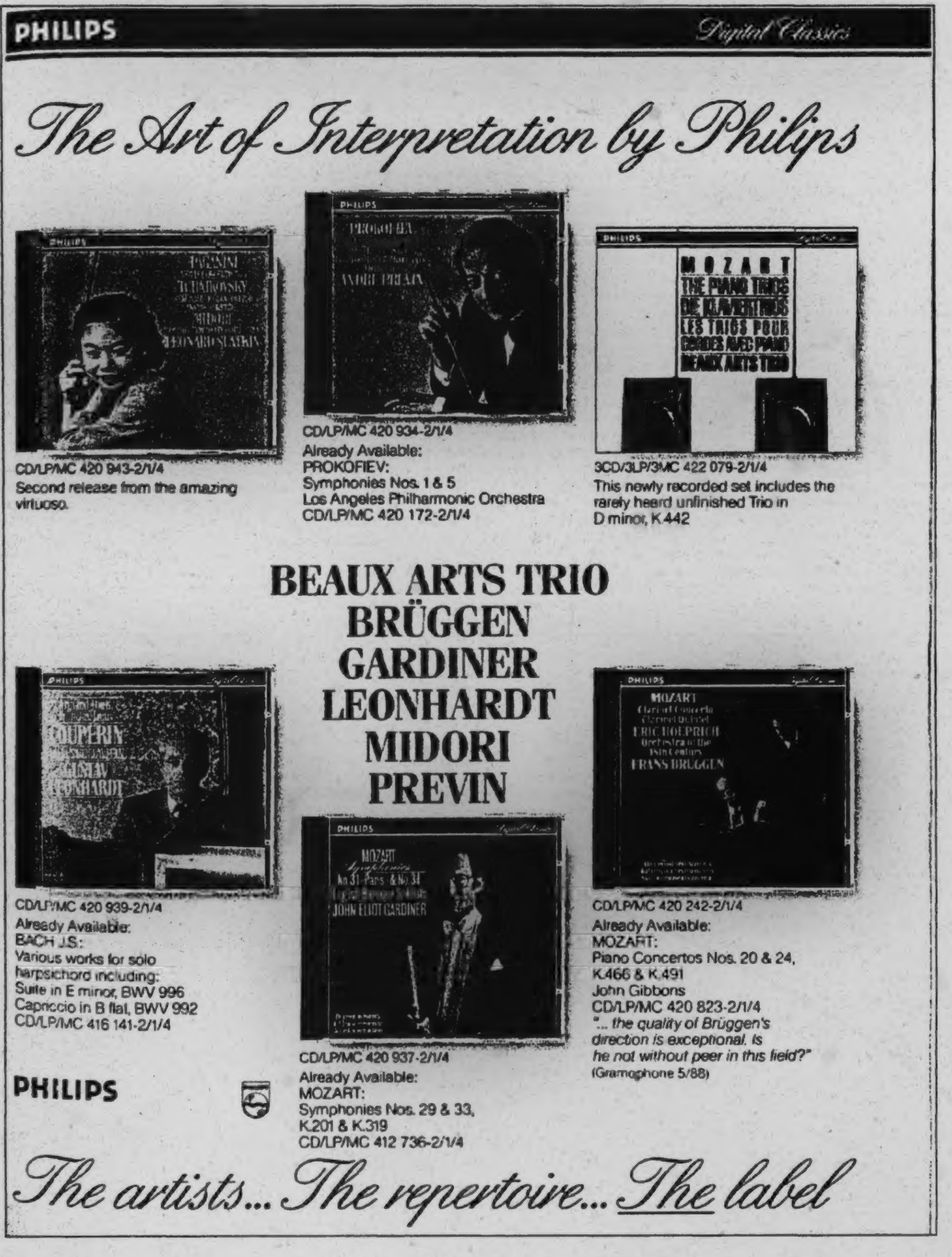
FIGURE 2

Gramophone 66, no. 782 (July 1988), p.165



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No. 31 'Paris' & No. 34
English Baroque Soloists
JOHN ELIOT GARDINER
FRANS BRÜGGEN

Courtesy of Universal Music Canada Inc.

instrument worlds.[31] Beethoven likewise presented a similar dilemma for Philips, which was simultaneously issuing new recordings of his music on both modern and historical instruments. Unlike the relatively humble launch of the Orchestra of the 18th Century's first Beethoven CD described above, Bernard Haitink's complete, and full-price, symphony cycle was proudly announced in a 2-page spread in the September 1987 issue of *Gramophone* (pp. 401-2), with colour and a photo of the conductor. Also problematic in this respect was the Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, another of Philips's modern instrument ensembles which figures prominently in their advertising. While the Academy was once considered a leader in the Baroque revival and in more historically-minded performances of 18th-century music, it was rapidly being surpassed by "authentic instrument" mania. Finally, one frequently finds ads in music publications for digitally-remastered CDs, such as the mid-price Silver Line Classics range, historical recordings, and boxed set compilations—all attempts to recycle Philips's extensive back catalogue.[32] The overall impression is that Philips was not so much jumping on the Early Music bandwagon by signing such artists as Brüggen, Gardiner and Leonhardt, but rather merely covering its bases, as it attempted to tap all possible classical music markets simultaneously.

By the late 1980s, Philips was changing tactics in its approach to marketing Brüggen.[33] Small text announcements and CD cover photos expanded to first half- and then full-page, full-colour ads featuring the Orchestra of the 18th Century and its conductor in 1990. In that year, Brüggen's profile graced the cover of the February issue of *Gramophone*, coupled with a glossy Philips advertisement on the inside and an interview (Brüggen 1990). Clearly, he had "arrived" in one of classical music's most important mainstream, commercial publications.[34] What is particularly remarkable about these ads is that Philips had begun to market Brüggen in the same manner as its traditional stars like Jessye Norman, Kiri te Kanawa, Sir Neville Marriner, and Bernard Haitink. In Figure 2, the six featured artists and ensembles appear under the banner "The Art of *Interpretation*" [emphasis mine]. Both Gardiner and Brüggen, along with historical clarinetist Eric Hoeprich, appear with the conductor's score (in the case of the latter, in the act of *consulting* the score)—this score representing the ultimate textual authority of the great composer. Two later ads (Figures 3 and 4), however, further highlight the importance of Brüggen as interpreter, making him more prominent than either the ensemble itself or the composer: here, the emphasis in these photos is on his emotive facial expressions and the dramatic gestures of his hands directing the orchestra. Note also, in these photos, that all the eyes of the orchestra members are focused on Brüggen. He is clearly represented here as the principal star, not merely the coordinator of the ensemble's musical ideas—in short, he is functioning in the familiar role of the great maestro.[35]

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[31] The other repertoire offered here (Bach and Couperin; Paganini, Tchaikovsky, and Prokofiev) is standard fare.

[32] Allan Kozinn, in a recent *New York Times* article about such practices, referred to Philips executives as "the masters of 'secondary exploitation'" (Kozinn 1999).

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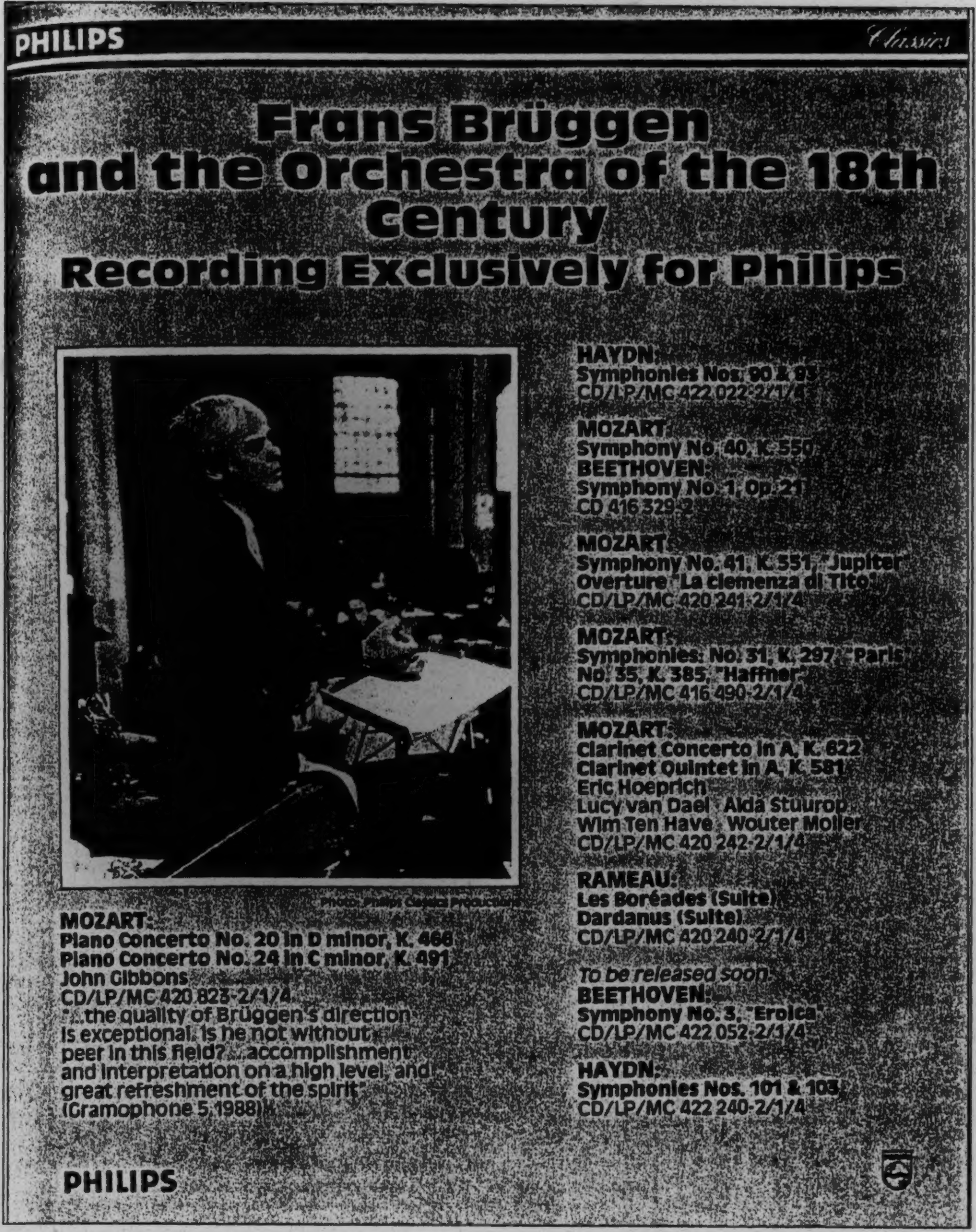
[33] And John Eliot Gardiner, it must be noted.

[34] The same colour photo was used in an ad in the May 1990 issue of *Early Music* (p.247).

[35] This does not indicate that the Orchestra necessarily *functioned* in such a hierarchical manner—indeed, Van Dael indicated that she had a good deal of artistic input—but it was nevertheless marketed in this way.

FIGURE 3

Early Music XVI, no. 3 (August 1988), p. 435



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Overture "La clemenza di Tito"
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MOZART:
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MOZART:
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Wim Ten Have · Wouter Moller
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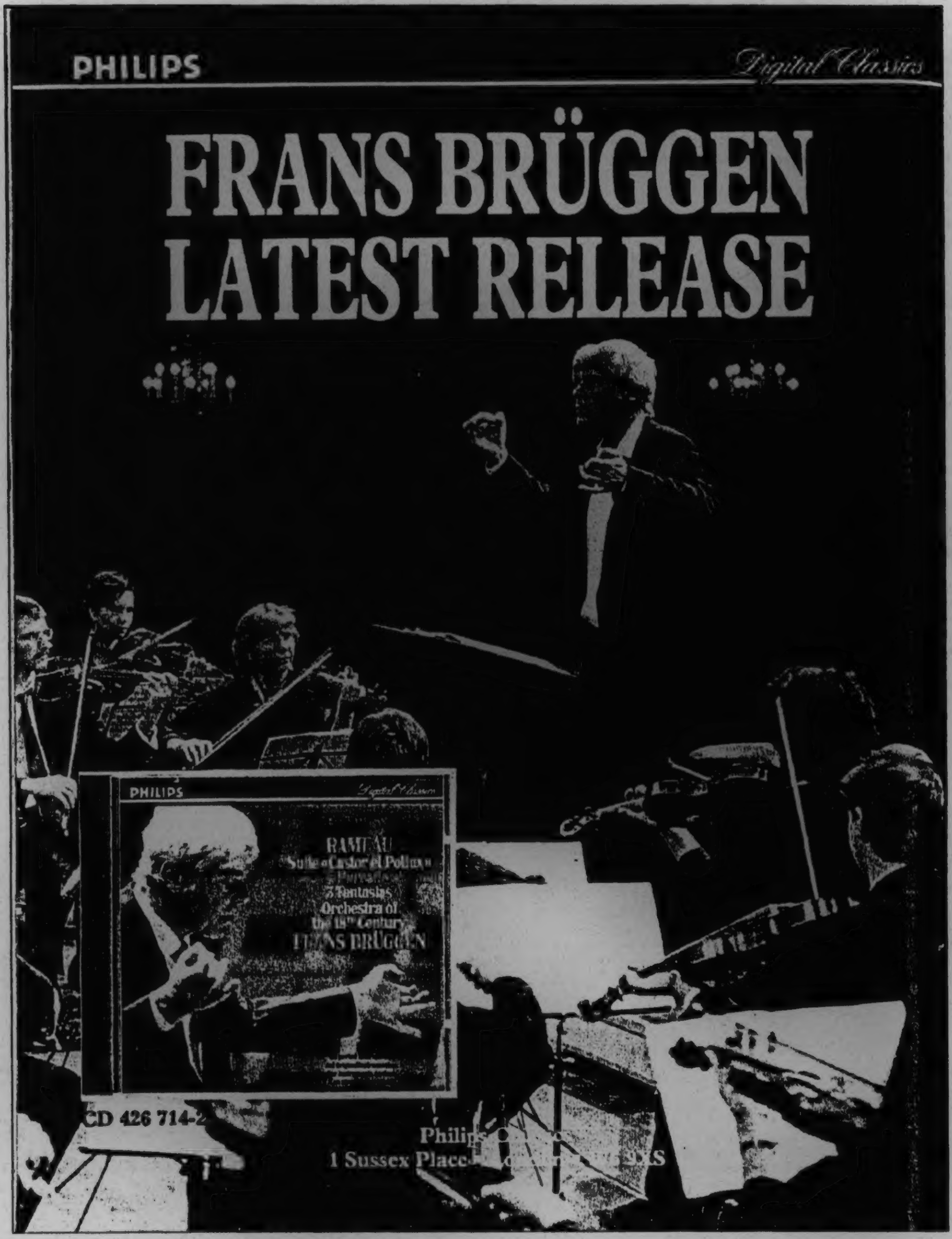
FIGURE 4

Early Music XVIII, no. 4 (November 1990), p. 560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the 18th Century
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Some Conclusions

Early Musicians, by the 1980s, no longer needed to justify their place in the Classical music world—at least, not in the Netherlands. By 1982, the year the first Festival was held, the debate over the legitimacy of using historical instruments was simmering down: as Nuchelmans put it, "That battle had been fought already." Koopman likewise noted that, "The war was over" by the 1980s, as mainstream and Early Music groups were showing more respect for each other. Early Musicians could concentrate more on music-making, increasing playing standards and exploring new repertoire, instead of battling with colleagues and competing for a share of the Classical music audience. By the end of the decade, the federal government had significantly restructured its funding priorities in the music sector to make them more inclusive to other forms of music-making: guilders siphoned from the regional and radio symphony orchestras were transformed into modest subsidies for the larger period instrument ensembles.

Moreover, Dutch Early Music organizations in the 1980s could show both audience support and relative financial independence from government funding, unlike the heavily-subsidized modern symphony orchestras and opera companies, and the somewhat marginalized contemporary music ensembles. This is despite an initially lukewarm reception from major record labels, and federal government granting agencies, who were slow to grasp the market significance of the new, bigger Early Music organizations. According to Nuchelmans, audience returns typically accounted for some seventy to eighty percent of the Utrecht Festival's budget.[36] The remainder was made up from a combination of corporate sponsorship (for instance, the Rabo Bank), radio broadcasting, and government subsidies (Nuchelmans 2003a).[37] Koopman cited similar figures for the ABO: only nine to eleven percent of his budget comes from subsidy, depending on the number of recordings they produce in a given year; he believed that the ratio for the Orchestra of the Eighteenth Century was similar. By contrast, he noted that the budget of modern symphony orchestras in the Netherlands typically consists of 85% subsidy to 15% self-generated income (Koopman 2004).[38]

Because they were forced from the very beginning to scrounge for support from a variety of sources, historical performers in the Netherlands were less dependent upon public funds to ensure their survival. It is this reliance upon a diversity of funding resources which made Early Music organizations more resistant to fluctuations in the economy and subsequent cuts to the federal culture and performing arts budgets.

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[36] Current figures by the STOOM indicate that one third of the organization's entire budget comes from ticket sales; about half comes from subsidies, particularly the MinOCenW; the remainder is made up from foundations, corporate sponsors and gifts by individual subscribers (STOOM 2004). These figures are not comparable, however, since Nuchelmans was referring specifically to the Festival's budget in the interview, while the STOOM literature refers to its entire organizational operating budget. The STOOM runs not only the Festival, but maintains a year-round staff to run the Early Music Network (a concert series held throughout the Netherlands from November through June), and its quarterly journal, the *Tijdschrift voor Oude Muziek*.

[37] It must, however, be noted that the Dutch public broadcasters are themselves heavily subsidized.

[38] This ratio is slightly inaccurate. For actual figures provided by the MinOCenW, see pp. 290 and 300 below.

The Early 1990s: Further Restructuring of the Culture Sector

Brinkman's successor in the third Lubbers cabinet was Hedy d'Ancona, a member of the Labour party (PvdA), who would serve as minister of Welzijn, Volksgezondheid en Cultuur from 1989-1994. D'Ancona had been a very important figure in the Dutch feminist movement, and, together with Joke Kool-Smit, was one of the founders of the action group *Man Vrouw Maatschappij* (Man-Woman-Society) in 1968.[39] Under d'Ancona, most of Brinkman's policies were put into practice, and their reach extended; the policies of government restructuring and reorganization within the arts sector continued under her tenure. In 1993, she ushered in a new law, the *Wet op het specifiek cultuurbeleid* or Cultural Policy (Special Purpose Funding) Act, which outlined ministerial tasks. Most important of these was the requirement that the minister, or state secretary, produce a *cultuurnota*, or specific policy statement on culture, to the parliament once every four years. The *cultuurnota* must summarize policy strategies in the arts to date, while outlining a unifying four-year plan, which will encompass all levels of government in a three-tier system. The federal government would issue operating subsidies, which would be locked in for a four-year period (regardless of any administration turnover), with the aim of providing financial security and continuity to grantee organizations. Additional tasks would be delegated to provincial or regional levels, and specialized foundations would distribute the ad-hoc, or project-based grants.[40] In this manner, the federal government achieved the desired goal of "decentralization" in the culture sector, while at the same time retaining overall control of artistic policy and programming vision (Pots 2002, 332-3; 351-2). Eventually, cultural policy was eliminated from the Ministerie van Welzijn, Volksgezondheid en Cultuur in 1994, and shifted to the newly-formed Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschaap (Education, Culture and Science) (MinOCenW 1999b, 3.7.3).

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[39] This organization strove for greater equality between the sexes, particularly regarding educational opportunities and salaries. Although perhaps less well-known than later organizations like the *Dolle Minas* (named after "Crazy Mina", a nickname of Dutch first-wave feminist Wilhelmina Drucker) or the radical feminist organizations of later years, the MVM was important for its pioneering work in launching Dutch second-wave feminism, and in raising awareness of women's issues.

Like Brinkman, d'Ancona also proposed further reforms to the Raad voor de Kunst. The Raad, she felt, was too bureaucratic and had too many committees, and lacked transparency, because its decisions were made with relative anonymity. Perhaps most controversial—and the most significant departure from her predecessors—d'Ancona felt that the public, including herself, should be more involved in discussions about artistic merit and quality, not just the Raad and its official panel of experts. The Raad members, as Hans van Maanen has observed, tended to come from members of the Dutch artistic community, making them vulnerable to charges of elitism:

> Although a number of non-artists became members of the Raad voor de Kunst, between 1970 and 1997 especially, it was the artists themselves who assessed their colleagues. This brought about a particular emphasis on professionalism rather than their social impact, which, in the 1980s, resulted

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[40] Among the federally-subsidized foundations, several are directly involved in funding music projects: the *Fonds voor de Podiumkunsten*, or Performing Arts Fund (1993) and the *Fonds voor de Amateurkunst*, or Amateur Art Fund (1997), which merged in 2002; and the *Fonds voor de Scheppende Toonkunst*, or Creative Music Fund (1982), which subsidizes new music commissions, improvised music productions and jazz.

> in a strong plea for originality as the core of artistic quality. (Van Maanen 2002, 183)

D'Ancona, however, felt that artistic autonomy ought not to extend so far that the government supporting such creative endeavours shirks its political and social legitimacy (Pots 2002, 331-2). Under her reorganization strategy, the Raad would merge with several other councils into a general Raad voor Cultuur (Council for Culture) in 1996, thereby considerably reducing the total number of advisory board members from some 275 to about 25 members (with the possibility of an additional 35 members serving on commissions). Councillors, who previously had been selected by the Raad's own members, would now be chosen instead by a ministerial appointment committee (Pots 2002, 336). The role of the new Raad voor Cultuur, then, would be the assessment of applications for multi-year subsidies, according to the policy directives set out by the Ministry. As such, its political independence from the administration had been considerably reduced.

D'Ancona's approach marked a considerable departure from the Labour Party platform of the 1980s, which had strongly protested the Christian Democrat Brinkman's emphasis on market forces and public outreach in his cultural planning. As Pots (2002, 332) has noted, the admiration for, and even the continuation of, Brinkman's policies by the PvdA in the 1990s indicates the extent to which the larger political parties had converged in their thinking on cultural policy.

The four-year arts plan for 1993-96 was set out by d'Ancona in the *Nota cultuurbeleid 1993-1996: Investeren in cultuur* (MinWVC 1992). Among her policy themes was an emphasis on public participation in the arts sector. Like Brinkman, d'Ancona was sceptical of a tendency by artists to use "renewal"—in other words—novelty and originality—as a primary criterion for judging aesthetics. As she put it, "Renewal, in and of itself, says nothing to me".[41] By emphasizing multiculturalism and internationalization in her funding priorities, d'Ancona sought to balance "quality" with "diversity" in the arts, reflecting a greater recognition of the changing demographics of the Dutch population: as of 2006, there were more than 3,000,000 persons living in the Netherlands with a foreign background, or more than 19% of the total population of some 16 million.[42] Muslims make up a significant number of these *allochtonen*, or non-western foreigners: there were nearly 1,000,000 Muslims living in the Netherlands in 2004, making up approximately 5.5 percent of the population; two thirds of these Muslims are Moroccan or Turkish in origin. Approximately one in four Amsterdammers are *allochtonen.* The Netherlands' urban areas also include large number of immigrants from the former colonies, such as the Dutch Antilles, Suriname and Indonesia.[43] This immigrant population tends to be isolated from the native-born Dutch in terms of their language, religion and culture. Moreover, d'Ancona also expressed a desire to increase cultural interaction with other members of the European Community (the predecessor of the European Union).[44] "Quality and Diversity" (*qualiteit en diversiteit*), then, would become buzzwords frequently repeated in the forthcoming policy statements of her successors. Lastly, d'Ancona did not renounce Brinkman's calls for greater accountability by artists to the public: her proposals went even further, for example by introducing a requirement that subsidized performing arts organizations raise 15% of their budgets themselves.

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[41] "Vernieuwing op zichzelf zegt mij niets." As quoted in the *NRC Handelsblad*, 5 January 1989; cited in Pots 2002, 332. Note the new scepticism of the buzzword "*vernieuwing*" which was used so prominently during the post-war reconstruction effort and the building of the welfare state. See Chapter Five, p. 216.

[42] Source: CBS. This includes both first and second-generation persons with a foreign background. While the current figures are higher than the population statistics for 1992, d'Ancona was correct to anticipate that the Netherlands would become increasingly multicultural. Since 1996, the percentage of *allochtonen* in the Dutch population has increased from 16.1 to 19.3 percent. See http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/table.asp?PA=37296eng&D1=25-51&D2=(l-11)-l&DM=SLEN&LA=en&TT=2 (accessed 14 April 2006).

[43] Source: CBS. See http://www.cbs.nl/en-GB/menu/themas/dossiers/allochtonen/publicaties/artikelen/archief/2004/2004-1543-wm.htm (accessed 14 April 2006).

Effects on Early Music ensembles

D'Ancona's *Cultuurnota* elicited a storm of protest from artists and journalists, who criticized her calls for an increased responsiveness of the arts to market forces, and her reductions to the performing arts budget. Hardest hit were the radio orchestras, who faced a proposed 80% cutback. Furthermore, critics resented her perceived meddling in artistic affairs in an un-Thorbeckian manner, and rebuked her for being at odds with her own stated policy objectives (see Pots 2002, 334 for a summary). Lien Heyting, culture critic for the *NRC Handelsblad* (one of the main national Dutch newspapers) put it thusly in a piece entitled "The minister should be ashamed of herself":

> What did the minister say at the beginning of her term, in reference to cultural policy? "It is the task of the government to protect culture and to allow it to thrive." If that was her point of reference, then millions should not be

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[44] This likely reflects d'Ancona's service in the European Parliament, where she held office both prior to and after her term as Minister of WVC.

> removed [literally: "crossed off"] from the already paltry little arts budgets. (Heyting 1991)[45]

Perhaps the most outspoken protest against d'Ancona came from a key figure within the Early Music world: Frans de Ruiter, then-director of the Holland Festival Oude Muziek and head of the Koninklijk Conservatorium (Royal Conservatory of Music, The Hague). De Ruiter led a coalition of 135 arts organizations in protest against d'Ancona's cultural policies, the "Kunsten '92".[46]

Nevertheless, the major Dutch period instrument ensembles continued to receive generally positive evaluations from the Raad voor de Kunst and the MinWVC, despite reductions elsewhere to the music budget. The *Cultuurnota* indicates that Early Music groups proved once again the beneficiaries of funds diverted from the modern symphony orchestras:

> In the music sector, a considerable redistribution of funds from symphonic music to other music forms, such as chamber music ensembles, early and new music, and small-scale music theatre projects, is proposed. (MinWVC 1992, 143)[47]

The Utrecht Early Music Festival was singled out for encouraging the active cultural participation of its audiences, one of the most significant elements of the minister's policy and one that was essential, according to her, for promoting a thriving cultural life:

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[45] *Wat zei de minister aan het begin van haar ambtsperiode, sprekend over het kunstbeleid? "De overheid heeft de taak de cultuur te beschermen en te laten gedijen." Als dat het uitgangspunt is, horen er geen miljoentjes te worden weggestreept van toch al schamele kunstbudgetjes.* Note that the use of the diminutive *-je* suffix on the words "miljoentjes" (millions) and "kunstbudgetjes" (arts budgets) further underlines their perceived smallness.

[46] Kunsten '92 still exists as a lobbying group and currently lists some 300 organizations as its members. See http://www.kunsten92.nl .

[47] *...in de sector muziek wordt een aanzienlijke herverdeling voorgesteld van de sector symfonische muziek naar andere muziekvormen zoals kamermuziekensembles, oude en nieuwe muziek en kleinschalige muziektheaterprojecten.*

> It is not the primary aim [of arts organizations] to acquire "consumers", but rather to seek a better connection between the different levels of society wherein active cultural activities thrive. One example is amateurs, who become stimulated by their artistic endeavours to take notice of what is presented at the professional level. Such is the audience of the Holland Festival Oude Muziek in Utrecht, about half of which is made up of amateur musicians. (MinWVC 1992, 40)[48]

D'Ancona cited a recent sociological study of Festival audiences, commissioned by the Ministerie van WVC, to support her argument (see Verhoeff 1992, 55).

An examination of the Ministerie's funding allocations for the period 1993-96 indicate that four of the five applications for structural subsidy by Early Music organizations were approved: the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra, the Orchestra of the 18th Century, the STOOM, the Nederlandse Bachvereniging, and the Combattimento Consort Amsterdam[49] (see Appendix One). While most grants were relatively modest in size, the Orchestra of the 18th Century saw its subsidy double from its 1988 amount, and the STOOM's budget was raised by nearly 115%, reflecting an important growth in the Festival's size and scope. Still, a group of nine mid-sized ensembles, including the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra and the Orchestra of the 18th Century, collectively protested the half million guilder subsidy increase they received—much less than they had requested—stating that it was inadequate to cover their travel and other expenses (Jansen 1992). This action appears to have fallen upon deaf ears in the Raad voor de Kunst, though several other organizations would have their subsidies increased slightly by the Raad voor Cultuur in 1996: the Nederlandse Bachvereniging (*f*122,000 to *f*218,000), the Combattimento Consort (*f*142,000 to *f*156,000), and the STOOM (*f*750,000 to *f*839,000).[50]

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[48] *Het gaat er niet primair om meer 'consumenten' te verwerven, maar om een betere aansluiting te zoeken bij wat er op de verschillende niveaus binnen de samenleving aan actieve culturele bedrijvigheid leeft. Zoals bij de kunstbeoefening door amateurs, waarvan eveneens een stimulans uitgaat om kennis te nemen van wat op dat gebied op professioneel niveau geboden wordt. Zo blijkt het publiek van het Holland Festival Oude Muziek in Utrecht voor ongeveer de helft uit amateurmusici te bestaan* (MinWVC 1992, 42).

[49] The latter group is something of a hybrid chamber orchestra: the repertoire focuses on the period 1600-1800, and, though the musicians usually perform on modern instruments, the string players use Baroque bows. That they have recently appeared on Utrecht Festival programs and are identified in later government publications as a "Barokorkest" suggests an identification with the Early Music movement, even though the "hardware" they employ is not necessarily historical. Collegium Europae, the lone group denied a grant, appears to have been a short-lived initiative of Wieland Kuijken.

In addition to exerting power over cultural organizations through the selective granting or withholding of funds, the Raad voor de Kunst and the MinWVC (and their successors, the MinOCenW and the Raad voor Cutuur), could also wield influence over artistic direction and programming. An increasing ministerial prioritization of diversity and multiculturalism, for example, seems to have affected the mission statement of the Utrecht Festival. This announcement, usually appearing on page 2 of the Festival program book or thereabouts, states that the Stichting Organisatie Oude Muziek is responsible for organizing the Utrecht Festival, the Netwerk voor Oude Muziek, the Tijdschift voor Oude Muziek, workshops and symposia, and similar activities. However, beginning in 1989 (coincidentally, also the year Hedy d'Ancona took office), it states additionally that the STOOM organizes "concerts of authentic music and dance from non-western countries".[51] Whether or not this indicates a direct response to the ministry's policy guidelines, a genuine desire for greater understanding and interaction between cultures, or simply a reflection of the zeitgeist is unclear. After all, it has now become common for historical performers to research performance techniques from non-western, living musical traditions and to derive inspiration from them, for example by experimenting with vocal techniques outside of those used in western Classical art singing (see, for example, Shelemay 2001, 18-21). It is surprising, however, that there are no actual concerts listed in the 1989 Festival featuring non-western ensembles; they first appear in the tenth anniversary festival program (1992). The Utrecht Festival would emphasize its links with Rasa even more in the coming years, and a greater number of its programs included non-western musical ensembles, until a change of administration in 2002.

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[50] These revised figures appear in the 1997-2000 *Cultuurnota* (MinOCenW 1996).

[51] *Een produktie van de Stichting Organisatie Oude Muziek / Die verantwoordelijk is voor:*

The mid 1990s: cultural heritage and education in a multicultural context

As the first Purple Coalition[52] cabinet of Wim Kok took office in August 1994, Aad Nuis (D66) was appointed State Secretary of Culture in the newly-formed

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.... *de organisatie van concerten met authentieke muziek en dans uit niet-westerse landen* (STOOM 1989, 2). An identical statement appears on all programs thereafter through to 1997; later programs have a different layout, but still refer to Rasa.

[52] The Purple Coalition was made up of three political parties, the Labour (PvdA), Liberal (VVD) and the Democrats 66 (D66), and so-called because of the blend of the social-democratic red with the liberal blue.

Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschappen.[53] Nuis, like d'Ancona, had been an important public figure in the turbulent years of the late 1960s and early 1970s; as an author, poet and literary critic, he reported on the dramatic social, cultural and political changes during this period (Kennedy 1995, 224, 239). In his *cultuurnota*, *Pantser of ruggengraat* (MinOCenW 1996), Nuis stressed the idea that culture functioned as the backbone (*ruggengraat*) of a country, rather than as its shield of armour (*pantser*).[54] Cultural policy, for him, should foster a sense of national identity, as well as promote cohesion and solidarity in a multicultural society. As such, his policy emphasized intercultural education, particularly in the music, museum and media sectors. At the same time, however, given his interest in Dutch history and identity, he also increased funding to the *cultuurbehoud* (cultural preservation) sector, including national monuments, archives, archaeology, and other types of conservation efforts; promoted Dutch language and literature; and advocated cultural heritage tourism and education projects by arts institutions (Pots 2002, 339-41, 550 n.61; MinOCenW 1996, 31-3). Nuis also instigated reforms to postsecondary arts education and worked to assist unemployed artists, whose Visual Artists Financial Assistance Scheme (*Beeldende Kunstenaars Regeling*) had been abolished in 1987 (see note 7 above). His *Wet Inkomensvoorziening Kunstenaars* (WIK) came into effect on January 1, 1999, and was intended to provide social assistance benefits to *all* artists and musicians, particularly those at the beginning of their careers.

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[53] The ministry has subsequently changed its name to Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap.

[54] This is in contrast to the views of Gerardus van der Leeuw, post-war culture minister, who was highly critical of foreign influences, particularly American popular culture (see Chapter Five).

The Early Music Movement: Growth and Expansion

Nuis's emphasis on cultural heritage and preservation would seem to be a positive development for historical performance in the Netherlands, particularly for ensembles promoting early Dutch music and the music of the Golden Age.[55] John Butt has argued that an increase in building preservation laws and restoration funding in the Netherlands and England, two countries with thriving Early Music scenes, corresponded with the growth in interest in historical performance there:

> With a general belief that the reuse of old buildings is more effective than replacement and a restoration budget proportionally higher than other countries, the Netherlands was perhaps the dominant force in twentieth-century heritage movements before the boom in Britain from the 1970s onwards. The parallel with the role of both these two countries in the early music movement is unmistakable: the Netherlands was among the first in institutionalizing an early music culture from the 1950s onwards, and British (or, rather, London-based) early music became a mainstream commercial culture in the 1970s (1973 marking the advent of both the *Academy of Ancient Music* and the journal *Early Music*). (Butt 2002, 172)

From this perspective, then, an increased interest in historicism and national cultural monuments, as indicated in the Dutch Ministry of Culture's policies, would seem to complement the activities of Early Music groups. Arguably, historical performance is effectively another form of cultural preservation and "recycling", since it is more cost-effective to perform pre-composed works, rather than commissioning new compositions.

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[55] See Chapter Five, p.178 for more on the relationship of building restoration to the Early Music revival in the Netherlands.

However, Nuis's *cultuurnota* indicates that, by the end of the 1990s, growth in the fields of cultural preservation and Early Music no longer coincided in the Netherlands; prioritizing one area did not necessarily correspond with additional funding in the other. The State Secretary of Culture showed no particular interest in developing the Dutch Early Music scene, and historical performance is not mentioned at all in his discussion of the performing arts. Rather, his planning in this sector focuses on theatre, *podia* (venues and concert halls), opera and its orchestral accompaniment, and small-scale performances (MinOCenW 1996, 33-37).

By 1996, the impact of Brinkman's restructuring of the symphony orchestras was clearly evident in the performing arts budget mapped out for the next four-year subsidy period: only 44 percent of the music sector's funds were allocated to the orchestras, down from 81 percent in 1966; 40 percent was designated for music theatre (both popular productions as well as opera); and 16 percent for miscellaneous organizations (Pots 2002, 367). This time, however, Early Music was not the beneficiary of funds diverted from the modern orchestras. Instead, the organizations which explicitly rated a high funding priority from the Raad were those promoting jazz, pop music and world music (Raad voor Cultuur 1996, vol. 10, 6)[56]: Rasa saw its subsidy more than double, from ƒ250,000 to ƒ625,000; the Stichting Popmuziek

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[56] *Binnen de sector muziek geeft de Raad de eerste prioriteit aan het enigszins inlopen van de subsidieachterstand van de sectoren jazz en popmuziek. In de afgelopen vier jaren is de wereldmuziek sterk in de belangstelling gekomen. De Raad acht het gewenst dat binnen het cultuurbeleid ook aan deze sector aandacht wordt besteed.*

Nederland (Netherlands Pop Music Foundation) had its subsidy raised *f*300,000, to *f*2,376,000.[57]

The net result was that no additional Early Music ensembles received a structural grant in *Pantser of ruggengraat*. Two new applications, from Cappella Pratensis (a vocal ensemble specializing in Renaissance polyphony, particularly by Dutch and Flemish composers) and Concerto '91 (a Baroque orchestra which frequently accompanies various choral groups throughout the Netherlands), were rejected by the Raad (see Appendix One). Most of the other organisations with a precedent for grant approval, including the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra, the STOOM, the Orchestra of the 18th Century and Combattimento, had their subsidy frozen for 1997-2000, at least initially.[58] The Raad and Nuis's relative neglect of Early Music ensembles received extensive press coverage at the time (e.g., *NRC Handelsblad* 1996; Van Gelder 1996; *Volkskrant* 1996a; Van der Hilst 1996), indicating the extent to which historical performance was perceived by critics as an essential part of Dutch musical life—or, as Rob van der Hilst put it, "the music genre that is at once the most vital and one of the best attended and practiced sectors of the classical music world."[59]

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[57] The Stichting Jazz en Geïmproviseerde Muziek in Nederland (SJIN, Foundation for Jazz and Improvised Music in the Netherlands) saw its subsidy decrease, in order to divert funds to individual jazz ensembles.

[58] The lone exception was the Bach Vereniging, which received a *f*100,000 increase.

[59] "*...oude muziek, het muziekgenre dat zowel het vitaalste als een van de best bezochte en beoefende sectoren van de klassieke muziekwerld is*" (Van der Hilst 1996, 370).

What is most surprising is the language employed by the Raad voor Cultuur in its *Advies Cultuurnota*,[60] where it provided a rationale for funding these particular Early Music organisations (Raad voor Cultuur 1996, vol. 10, 52-3). The Raad critiqued the ABO for not attracting enough of an audience for its Bach cantata series, put on in conjunction with Koopman's ambitious plans to record the complete set.[61] It cited the ABO's over-dependence on sponsorship income, while at the same time failing to increase its subsidy.[62] For its part, the Orchestra of the 18th Century was cited for low turnover in its core group of musicians and the lack of rejuvenation in the ensemble. The Raad presumed, therefore, that this would be the last subsidy period for which the Orchestra would apply (this was, of course, hardly to be the case; the Orchestra applied for, and received, subsidies for 2001-2004 and 2005-2008).[63] At the same time, the Raad praised both orchestras for their international renown and high playing standards: it noted that the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra had built up an "outstanding international reputation abroad", and that the Orchestra of the 18th Century "occupies a pre-eminent ambassador's function for our country."[64] In other words, the Ministerie van OCenW was content to take advantage of the period instrument orchestras' international standing and their ability to market Dutch culture abroad, while keeping its actual financial support at a minimum.

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[60] The Raad publishes its decisions on subsidy applications and advice to the Ministerie van OcenW in the *Advies Cultuurnota*, which is released in the spring prior to the beginning of the next subsidy period.

[61] According to A. W. Kist, the Orchestra board's president, this was based on incorrect attendance figures (*Volkskrant* 1996a).

[62] *..de serie waarin alle cantatas van Bach worden uitgevoerd [trekt] veel minder publiek dan gehoopt....De Raad heft begrip voor de omstandigheden die het orkest dwingen een aanzienlijk hogere rijksbijdrage te vragen. Hier wreekt zich de te grote afhankelijkheid van sponsorinkomsten* (Raad voor Cultuur 1996, vol. 10, 53).

[63] *Er zit nauwelijks verloop in de groep musici, verjonging wordt niet nagestreefd. Verondersteld wordt dat dit wel eens de laatste cultuurplanaanvraag van het orkest zou kunnen zijn* (Raad voor Cultuur 1996, vol. 10. 52).

Ultimately, Koopman was successfully able to protest his modest grant allowance, arguing that the ABO had greater financial need because of the loss of two of its major corporate sponsors, and suggesting that the orchestra would have to become a "*platenensemble*" (recording ensemble) and cease public performance without further government assistance. The Orchestra's amount was increased from *ƒ*130,000 to *ƒ*330,000, allowing Koopman to achieve slightly better than parity with his colleague Frans Brüggen, and making his the only successful appeal filed against the Raad's decisions that year (Van Gelder 1996). Still, the hint of financial problems and the loss of sponsorship at one of the most eminent of the Dutch Early Music ensembles was unsettling. Despite some blockbuster commercial successes—Koopman's St. Matthew Passion recording went gold in the Netherlands in 1994, and then platinum the following year[65]—there were indications that all was not well with either the Early Music world or the recording industry by the mid-1990s.

Likewise, the Holland Festival Oude Muziek was experiencing financial instability and management problems during this same period. In 1996, in an attempt to professionalize the organization's ad hoc administration, the Festival's governing board appointed an outsider to instigate some changes: Simon Mundy, artistic

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[64] *Internationaal heeft het ABO een uitstekende reputatie opgebouwd* (*ibid.*, 53). *De Raad acht het Orkest van de 18e Eeuw een eminent orkest. Bij de vele optredens in het buitenland bekleedt het bij uitstek een ambassadeursfunctie voor ons land* (*ibid.*, 53).

[65] Source: NVPI (Nederlandse Vereniging voor producenten en Importeurs van beeld- en geluidsdragers). A highlights CD produced from the same album went gold in 1997. A gold record in

director of the Scottish Northlands Festival and an acquaintance of STOOM's secretary Frans de Ruiter from the European festivals circuit. Mundy, who was named artistic and business director, was unfamiliar with the Early Music world, and with the Dutch language, culture and complicated subsidy system. His attempts to mediate between different factions of the close-knit staff, and introduce change in the festival programming, for example by commissioning new works for Early Music ensembles by Steve Reich and Adrian Williams, were met with stiff resistance. Mundy departed after barely one year in the position, shortly before the 1996 edition of the Festival (Green 1996, Van der Hilst 1996). Attendance figures dropped by four thousand from the previous year (*Volkskrant* 1996b), and the lack of subsidy increase for 1997-2000 suggests the Raad was sceptical of the Festival's announced plans for renewal and change in the coming four-year period.

The beginning of a turbulent time for the Festival, and the problems with its artistic direction, could be seen as the direct result of poor managerial decisions. However, it could also be interpreted as part of a general sign of malaise, discontent and fatigue in the field of Early Music at large. The "authenticity debate", spurred by Nicholas Kenyon's symposium (1988), came to a head with the publication of Richard Taruskin's *Text and Act* in 1995—coinciding almost precisely with this period of grant restrictions and financial difficulties in the Dutch Early Music sector. While musicologists, critics and historical performers in North America and the U.K. were hotly disputing the meaning of authenticity in performance and the viability

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the Netherlands represents sales of 15,000 for classical or jazz albums, while platinum indicates 25,000 (and validity) of realising the intentions of the composer, the term "authentic performance practice" gradually disappeared from use there (to be replaced with "historically-informed performance", "period instruments", or other such euphemisms). At the same time, their colleagues on the other side of the Atlantic remained, for the most part, silent on this issue in the press.[66] Dutch musicians have used—and in many cases, still use—the term *authentieke uitvoeringspraktijk* freely in their promotional materials, without Taruskinian scare quotes[67] or any sense of irony whatsoever. This lacuna is not for lack of familiarity with the "authenticity debate" or Taruskin's work. A review of *Text and Act* appeared in the *Tijdschrift voor Oude Muziek*, the STOOM's quarterly periodical, in November 1996 (Van Oorschot 1996), although it is more of a summary of his arguments rather than a critical analysis. Nuchelmans also confirmed that people in the Netherlands had begun to talk about Taruskin in 1995 and 1996 (2003a). Moreover, a series of three articles appeared in the 2001 volume of the *Tijdschrift voor Oude Muziek* entitled "*De mythe van de authenticiteit*", or the myth of authenticity (Bijlo 2001, Boer 2001, Van Oorschot 2001). These articles do not so much engage with the "authenticity debate", however, but rather explore the changing identity of Early Music in postmodernity. The

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albums sold.

[66] Several top musicians and administrators whom I interviewed also seemed reluctant to discuss the subject.

[67] See the introduction of Taruskin's *Text and Act*, where he writes, "…authenticity was headed, at best, for nervous scare quote status, doomed forever to be surrounded by those pesky diacritics that 'appear to take back what is advanced between them, while they oddly also insist on the necessity of advancing it'" (Taruskin 1995, 4). The secondary quotation is by Gregg Horowitz, as cited by Peter Kivy in "Composers and 'Composers': A Response to David Rosen," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 4 (1992): 179.

reasons for the lack of published discourse on authenticity among Dutch Early Musicians are unclear.[68]

In any case, there was a sense in the mid-1990s that the Utrecht Festival's direction was grappling with the meaning of the term "Early Music", morphing its definition to include an ever-broader range of music, for the purposes of more adventurous and experimental programming, and in an attempt to attract new audiences. In some instances, this meant reaching further into period instrument explorations of 19th-century repertoire and beyond. A reporter from *Het Parool* addressed these issues, asking Nuchelmans in a 1994 interview, "In Utrecht nowadays, you hear Beethoven and Schubert. Do you still think about a definition of the term early music?" He responded:

> Yes, but then in the sense of the drawing of borders. Let it be said: I can imagine that we might do the quartets of Bartok, if we came across interpretations of great authenticity and authority. Early Music has become more of a philosophy than a genre name. In America, the term "historical [*sic*] informed", "historical performance practice" has been invented. With that, nothing more is meant than becoming informed as well as possible, in historical and musical terms, as much as possible about the music. (Nuchelmans 1994)[69]

Under De Ruiter's influence, however, Early Music's meaning went still further, and the Festival's programming extended to the drawing of parallels between Medieval, folk, contemporary, and "world" musics. Most striking was the increasing proportion of the Festival's programs devoted to musics outside of the western Classical tradition, including concerts in the prime (20:00, or 8pm) time slots; the 1995 Festival, for example, included overtone singers from Siberia and an ensemble from Pakistan performing Sufi music. Still more outlandish was the grand opening concert that year, as described by a reporter for the *Volkskrant*:

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[68] As Dorottya Fabian (2001) has noted, the issue of authenticity in performance among European (particularly German) scholars and performers had already been debated in the continental musicological literature of the 1950s through the late 1970s. It is possible that Dutch musicians were more familiar with this scholarship than the American and British writing on the subject.

[69] *-In Utrecht hoor je tegenwoordig Beethoven en Schubert. Denk je nog wel eens na over een definitie van het begrip oude muziek? "Ja, maar dan in de zin van het trekken van grenzen. Laat ik zeggen: ik zou me kunnen voorstellen dat we de kwartetten van Bartok zouden doen, als we zouden stuiten op interpretaties van grote authenticiteit en autoriteit. Oude muziek is steeds meer een filosofie dan een genrebenaming geworden. In Amerika is de term historical informed, historical performance practice*

> The theme "Old and New", a long-cherished wish of Frans de Ruiter, is perhaps best apparent in the Night of the Voice, Friday [August 25, 1995] in the Vredenburg. There, the voices of such early music specialists as Catherine Bott and Benjamin Bagby resound beside those of new music specialists like Susan Narucki and Lucia Meeuwsen with repertoire that ranges from the Italian folk tradition to Berio, and from Willaert to Van Bergeijk. (Hiu 1995)[70]

That De Ruiter was the driving impulse behind these programming changes is made clear in an article he published in the 1994 Festival program book:

> Is there…something special about non-western art that distinguishes it from western?
> Behold, the answer to the question of why so-called non-western art is taken up in the Holland Festival Early Music Utrecht: there is no generally distinctive difference….
> Each part of the world has its own early music, and, as a festival of early music, it is our sacred obligation to review the entire world's music history. (De Ruiter 1994, 13-14)

While this approach might be more inclusive of other cultures and musical genres, the question was whether the Festival's core audience would appreciate what amounted to a cross-cultural music education campaign, one that was entirely in line with

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uitgevonden. Daarmee wordt niets anders bedoeld dan zo goed mogelijk geoformeerd zijn, in historische en muzikale zin, zoveel mogelijk te weten komen over de muziek."

[70] *Het thema 'Oud en Nieuw', een lang gekoesterde wens van Frans de Ruiter, komt misschien wel het best tot uiting in de Nacht van de Stem, vrijdag in Vredenburg. Daar zullen de stemmen van oude muziekspecialisten als Catherine Bott en Benjamin Bagby weerklinken naast die van de specialisten in*

Nuis's prioritizing of intercultural learning through the arts.[71] More importantly, would Early Music fans be willing to draw parallels between "authentic music and dance" from across the globe and from vastly different historical periods and genres, or would this broadening of the Festival's scope only serve to fragment its unique sense of identity in the musical marketplace?

The Late 1990s: *Nieuwe Zakelijkheid*

Following the election and formation of the second Purple Coalition in 1998, F. (Rick) van der Ploeg was appointed State Secretary of Culture. This was, in many respects, a most unusual choice for this position: Van der Ploeg was an economics professor, and, unlike his predecessors in this position, he had no background in the field of arts and culture. From the beginning, Van der Ploeg's combination of criticizing the social elite, combined with his businesslike concern for economy and efficiency (expressed in sometimes inflammatory remarks), touched a nerve with the uneasy members of the Dutch culture sector. Van der Ploeg sought to make the arts more democratic and accessible to all, fearing that the subsidized art world in the Netherlands amounted to a "*monocultuur*" (monoculture) because of its uniformity. He questioned the high number of grant guilders earmarked for opera, for example, and the concentration of power in arts councils and funds directed by "white men

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de nieuwe muziek als Susan Narucki en Lucia Meeuwsen met repertoire dat reikt van de Italiaanse volkstraditie tot en met Berio, en van Willaert tot en met Van Bergeijk.

around the age of 55." Instead, he argued that the government should be creating more opportunities for young artists working in the multimedia sector and for *allochtonen* (Dutch citizens of foreign background) (Pots 2002, 345; MinOCenW 1999f).

As Pots correctly observes, Van der Ploeg's policies in many ways did not represent a significant departure from previous ministers and state secretaries of culture, in that they continued to emphasize the same three components: "*markt, publiek en pluriformiteit*" (the marketplace, public, and pluriformity—i.e., multiculturalism and diversity) (Pots 2002, 345-6). However, what *was* new was Van der Ploeg's increased use of economic terms, such as supply, demand and distribution, in his writings on cultural policy. One such example, entitled "*Een ondernemende cultuur*" (An Entrepreneurial Culture), presented to the Tweede Kamer in November 1999, is typical:

> In a cultural entrepreneur, two factors are united. The cultural, because he has a great knowledge and feeling for the arts, for the creative process, a nose for creative talent. The entrepreneurial, because he knows his public, is alert for new opportunities, and knows how to use marketing instruments from the commercial sector. (MinOCenW 1999c, II)[72]

Van der Ploeg further elaborated on these ideas in his *Uitgangspunten voor het cultuurbeleid* (or *Principles on cultural policy*), his major policy statement, which

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[71] Indeed, Nuchelmans went so far as to label De Ruiter a "*cultuurpoliticus*" (culture politician) in a 1995 interview (Hiu 1995).

[72] *In een cultureel ondernemer verenigen zich twee faculteiten. De culturele, omdat hij in hoge mate kennis en gevoel heeft voor de kunsten, voor de creatieve processen, een neus voor het creatieve talent. De ondernemende, omdat hij zijn publiek kent, alert is op nieuwe kansen en gebruik weet te maken van marketinginstrumenten uit de commerciële sector.*

he released in June 1999 (MinOCenW 1999e).[73] The *Uitgangspunten* were intended to inform arts organizations about the Ministerie's funding priorities for the coming 2001-2004 planning period, so that they could be taken into account by subsidy applicants. Here, Van der Ploeg's major themes for the coming period included: "cultural planology" (i.e., town planning, infrastructure development and monument protection), e-culture, cultural entrepreneurship, acquisition and exhibition of cultural assets, youth, cultural diversity and improved programming, particularly for the performing arts sector.

Van der Ploeg placed a great emphasis on statistics to determine the relative productivity and efficiency of cultural organizations. In other words, the Raad voor Cultuur would no longer make its judgements based only on an applicant's "quality", but also according to three other criteria: social outreach, the ratio of ticket sales income in proportion to subsidy, and its "position within the system", or the institution's role in Dutch and international cultural life. Van der Ploeg then introduced several new conditions for subsidy. Firstly, 3% of the federal grant had to be used to recruit new audiences, especially from young people and cultural minorities. Secondly, he tightened D'Ancona's requirement that organizations provide at least 15% of their own funding; this was changed so that this 15% had to come specifically from box office receipts (MinOCenW 1999e, 2.1; 3.3). Already, organizations had to cite these and other figures in their application forms for 2001-2004, while also giving the proportion of women to men on the advisory board and the number of people under the age of 40 (MinOCenW 1999d).[74] The idea was to promote cultural diversity both among the artists themselves, as well as among the audience members.

Once again, the state secretary's policy statements met with a storm of protest from culture critics and the arts world (see Pots 2002, 347 for a summary). There were vocal objections to the Ministerie's plans to further cut back the symphony orchestras, by eliminating the Noordhollands Philharmonisch Orkest and merging its functions with the Nederlands Ballet Orkest, by reducing size of the Nederlands Philharmonisch Orkest, and by eliminating the subsidies of the Nederlands Kamerorkest and the Radio Symfonieorkest (see, for example, Fiumara 2001a). This would bring the number of state-funded symphony orchestras to ten. Most commonly expressed, however, was the fear that, by mandating arts organizations' outreach programs, Van der Ploeg was turning cultural policy into social welfare policy, and, as such, violating artistic autonomy and freedom. As De Ruiter saw it, many of the questions the state secretary was asking were fully justified:

> Are you able to communicate with another public, with a young public, with new Dutch citizens? But then the institutions themselves must make that assessment. (De Ruiter 2000)[75]

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[73] Since 1999, most MinOCenW documents are being distributed both in print and in online versions, and often translated into English, most likely to increase accessibility for other members of the European Union. These official translations will be referred to whenever possible.

[74] These statistics were deemphasized for 2005-2008. Organizations had to report on the gender of their directors and board members (with no ratio specifically asked), but not their ages (MinOCenW 2003c).

[75] *Ben je in staat met een ander publiek te communiceren, met jong publiek, met nieuwe Nederlanders? Maar vervolgens moeten de instellingen zelf de afweging maken.*

In other words, the arts organizations themselves should be free to determine their own role in society and the kinds of audiences they want to attract. However, some critics, such as the composer John Borstlap, were optimistic that Van der Ploeg's policies would lead to rejuvenation, particularly in the performing arts, and open up new possibilities beyond the post-war conception of the avant-garde, which had now become the mainstream (Borstlap 1999).

Early Musicians as "Cultural Entrepreneurs" in a Competitive Marketplace

Under Van der Ploeg, a new kind of rationale was provided for funding the Early Music ensembles: their relative success in the marketplace, from an economic standpoint. Although they were largely ignored by his immediate predecessor Nuis, Van der Ploeg, like Brinkman and D'Ancona, once again cited Early Music groups in his policy statement. The Baroque ensembles in particular were singled out under the heading "cultural entrepreneurialism":

> Ensuring greater market influence will be a first step in the direction of improving service to the public. After that, we must get rid of a dated approach to subsidy applications based on the avoidance of profit. There is much more to be said for a system that challenges (and if necessary equips) people in the arts to finance their own activities, either by finding new sources of income or by making the best use of existing methods of self-financing. And if that is not enough to solve the problem, then (and only then) can we see whether there are good reasons for helping out. There is much more point in topping up the budget for a cultural activity with the last little bit of funding that is difficult or impossible to find elsewhere than in propping up an entire budget that is shaky from its very foundations. *This kind of approach is in fact already being applied in the case of baroque ensembles* [emphasis mine], where subsidy is given for the last, relatively modest amount needed to complete the budget for concerts. (MinOCenW 1999e, 2.3)

Likewise, the three major Baroque orchestras and choirs were cited in the updated, 2002 edition of *Cultural Policy in the Netherlands*:

> There are a few non-symphonic classical music groups besides the ensembles. Some of them - the Orchestra of the Eighteenth Century, Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra and the Nederlandse Bachvereniging, for instance - specialize in authentic performances of early music, and with the success they have achieved nationally and internationally they are not particularly dependent on subsidy. (MinOCenW 2003a, 183)

Thus, Early Music groups acquired a new value for Van der Ploeg, as they epitomized one of his most cherished policy ideals. Indeed, his statistics show that the four Baroque orchestras surveyed[76] had by far the most impressive ratio of ticket sales to subsidy (82 : 18), compared to the symphony orchestras (24 : 76), to music theatre and opera (22 : 78), the music sector at large (28 : 72), dance (18 : 82), and theatre (15 : 85), the latter of which had the poorest ratio (MinOCenW 1999e, Appendix 2b).

As a result, the Baroque ensembles faired relatively well under the Raad's *Advies Cultuurnota* and the Ministerie's *Cultuurnota 2001-2004* (Raad voor Cultuur 2000, MinOCenW 2000). None had their subsidies cut, and several received modest increases (see Appendix One). Several additional Early Music organizations received structural funding for the first time: two choirs (Cappella Pratensis and Cappella Amsterdam), the Baroque orchestra Concerto '91, and the recorder ensemble, the Amsterdam Loeki Stardust Quartet. The only Early Music ensemble which applied for and did not receive a grant was Les Perruques d'Amsterdam, a relatively new Baroque orchestra. The Nederlandse Bachvereniging received a major increase of *f*100,000 over its 1999 subsidy amount: in addition to its high performance level, the Raad praised its educational role as a "*kweekvijver van jong talent*" (a breeding ground for young talent), and cited its low subsidy-per-visit rate and its high percentage of income earned from ticket sales (Raad voor Cultuur 2000, 99). The Combattimento Consort, with 75% of its income coming from ticket sales, had the lowest such rate of all the Early Music ensembles. The Raad, therefore, accorded it a subsidy increase of *f*75,000 for the express purpose of improving its marketing and public outreach—i.e., allowing it to better become a cultural entrepreneur.[77]

As for the STOOM, it also received a positive recommendation from the Raad, despite the managerial difficulties it had been facing in recent years. The Raad, noting that the STOOM was in "in a state of transition", affirmed its trust that the organization was now "on the right path" and would continue to function well:

> As such, the Festival still offers a varied and interesting programming. Also, the non-western component is a fascinating and appreciated part of the festival. The Raad is also pleased to mention its wide public reach. (Raad voor Cultuur 2000, 207)[78]

Note again the praise for the STOOM's world music programming, which conformed nicely with Van der Ploeg's policy emphasis on education and cultural diversity. The Raad was not impressed, however, with the STOOM's plans to program large-scale

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[76] Presumably: Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra, Orchestra of the 18th Century, Combattimento Consort, and the Bachvereniging—though these were not named in the appendix.

[77] *Met 75% publieksinkomsten heeft het Consort het laagste percentage publieksinkomsten van de oude muziekensembles. Eén van de prioriteiten is dan ook een sterker publiciteits- en marketingbeleid.... Om het ensemble beter in staat te stellen een nog groter publiek te bereiken adviseert de Raad tot toekenning van een extra subsidiebedrag van f75.000,-.*

[78] *De Raad constateert dat de organisatie in staat van verandering verkeert. De Raad heeft niettemin het vertrouwen dat een goede weg is ingeslagen en dat de sterke positie van de verschillende activiteiten van de organisatie gehandhaafd zal blijven. Zo biedt het festival nog steeds een*

operatic productions, citing the high costs involved.[79] Indeed, given the poor ticket sales to subsidy ratio for music theatre noted earlier, this was not surprising.

Ironically, just as the Early Music ensembles were being praised by the Raad and the state secretary as models of efficiency and productivity, many were encountering a phase of serious financial problems, brought about by changes in the marketplace, especially the recording industry. Gone was the profitable recording boom of the early 1980s, fuelled by the compact disc. As record companies merged and were then acquired by large, multinational corporations, many dropped or severely cut back their Classical divisions in an attempt to increase profitability.

The story of Philips is typical. The company's costly attempts in the early 1990s to market a new format, the Digital Compact Cassette, were unsuccessful. With the retirement of CEO Jan Timmer in 1996, Philips cut jobs, restructured, and began to divest some of its subsidiaries. In 1998, Philips sold PolyGram, the parent company of Philips Classics, Deutsche Grammophon and Decca, to the distillery giant Seagram, which was then merged into Universal Records. By 2001, many of Philips's top Classical stars—including both Bernard Haitink and Frans Brüggen—had been dropped by the label, with no regard for loyalty or critical acclaim. Haitink, for example, had been recording for Philips for 40 years, and was not allowed to finish recording a nearly complete Mahler cycle (Ivry 2001). As Ton Koopman put

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interessante, gevarieerde programmering. Ook het niet westerse aandeel daarin is boeiend en een meerwaarde van het festival. De Raad is ook zeer te spreken over het ruime publieksbereik.

[79] *Ten aanzien van de nieuwe plannen zou de Raad de organisatie willen waarschuwen voor een start met grootschalig muziektheater in verband met de hoge kosten die daaraan verbonden zijn. De Raad ziet er geen artistieke noodzaak toe, mede gelet op het al ruim voorhanden zijnde aanbod op dat gebied.*

it, all the bad experiences he had with recording companies were in the twenty-first century. The termination of his relationship with Warner Music Group, which had recently acquired Erato, was particularly shocking for its callousness. In August, 2001, a lawyer from Warner informed him via fax that he would be dropped from the label, and that he was to stop his Bach cantata recordings immediately (Koopman 2004). After several attempts to convince another company to pick up the project, he found that none of the major labels were interested in investing the money: as he put it, there was a "big lack of guts to do it."[80]

Likewise, the Utrecht Festival was continuing to experience difficulties. The resultant void in the directorship created by Simon Mundy's departure was filled by Casper Vogel, former director of the Noordhollands Philharmonisch Orkest, in 1997. Like his predecessor, Vogel had little musicological background or knowledge of historical performance practices; his career was in broadcasting and symphony orchestra management (Vogel 1997). The newly-appointed head of the advisory board also came from outside the Early Music world: Jan Zekveld, a former director at the Concertgebouw, who like Vogel also had a background in broadcasting (Zekfeld 1998). Jan Nuchelmans's role was reduced from programmer to advisor, and he eventually departed after the 1999 Festival to pursue other opportunities. Statistics published annually in the national newspapers catalogued a steady drop in attendance in the mid 1990s, from 63,000 visitors in 1995, to 59,000 in 1996, to only 50,000 in 1997; it then hovered around this point for the next few years (*Volkskrant*

1997, 1999; Vermeulen 2000). Following Vogel's appointment, 8 out of 11 staff members left (Nuchelmans 1999). Critics were not impressed, either. By 2001, the Festival's twentieth anniversary, the *Handelsblad* proclaimed, in a largely negative review, that "Early Music is no longer what it was":

> Despite the jubilee, this Festival was only partly festive. The suspense of the unknown, from both seldom-preformed works and by new, enthusiastic ensembles, has faded away. The excitement from the time of programmer Jan Nuchelmans also has been difficult to maintain. The old heroes have become tired, and where are the new? (Vermeulen 2001)[81]

The reviewer from *Trouw* was similarly disappointed by Vogel's lack of vision and background knowledge in the field of Early Music, the incoherent programming, and the reduced number of concerts (from 70 to 45) (Fiumara 2001b).

While Vogel blamed the Festival's dwindling attendance figures and poor reviews on a lack of sponsorship and subsidy support, the main problem was that the new management did not understand the Festival's core audience demographic, and was unable to tailor programming to their taste. De Ruiter, Vogel and Mundy seemed so concerned with attracting new audiences and with making over the Festival's image that they alienated the loyal subscribers. An examination of the Festival's program books in the mid-to-late 1990s shows a rapid introduction of many new elements, but not much cohesiveness, for example, between historical performance groups and non-western music ensembles: one could almost speak of two separate

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[80] A 2002 newspaper article noted that Koopman approached Sony and Andante in particular, but both declined, despite favourable critical reviews for the CDs released to that point, citing the enormous costs involved (*Parool* 2002).

[81] *Ondanks het jubileum was dit festival slechts ten dele feestelijk. De spanning van het ongekende, zowel in zelden uitgevoerde werken als bij nieuwe begeesterde ensembles, is weggezakt. De opwinding*

festivals going on simultaneously. There was a lack of balance between the familiar and new ideas and challenges. Moreover, given that the modern symphony orchestras were struggling to remain solvent and were facing declining audiences, it was surprising that the Festival's board turned to former management personnel from this faltering sector to undertake renewal in the Early Music world.

The 2005-2008 Planning Period: Further Cutbacks

In the cabinet of Balkenende II (May 2003-), Medy van der Laan (D66), a civil servant and harpist, was appointed State Secretary of the Ministerie van OCenW.[82] In her statement to the Tweede Kamer, the *Uitgangspuntenbrief Cultuurbeleid* (MinOCenW 2003e), which marked the beginning of the 2005-2008 subsidy process, Van der Laan made a deliberate point not to make an extreme departure from the guidelines of her precedents in office. Nevertheless, there are several indications that she took into account criticism of Van der Ploeg's more proactive approach to cultural policy design:

> If, every four years, you formulate other priorities, then this leads to policy inflation and strategic behaviour on the part of organizations. That is hardly effective. Moreover, this way of working—correctly or incorrectly—has increasingly given more encouragement to the idea that the purpose of cultural

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uit de tijd van programmeur Jan Nuchelmans lijkt ook moeilijk te continueren. De oude helden zijn vermoeid en waar zijn de nieuwe?

[82] The Balkenende I coalition government, elected in the wake of Pim Fortuyn's assassination in May 2002, was dissolved after only 87 days, forcing another election; as such, it had little long-term impact on cultural policy.

> policy is specifically to give full details to institutions in order to prescribe what they must do for the four-year period.[83]

Moreover, she returned to a more Thorkbeckian approach to artistic autonomy, advocating a reduced governmental role in shaping the activities of arts organizations:

> An increase in autonomy is based on the conviction that the quality of art can only be maximised if art has the freedom to flourish. Only then can art acquire its full meaning, not only as immaterial enrichment of those who participate in it, but also for the increase in flexibility of society as a whole. It is for that reason that the Outline Agreement emphasises the importance of a high-quality cultural life. It is the task of the government to safeguard the freedom of art and to ensure, at the same time, that its significance for society is used as effectively as possible. (MinOCenW 2003d, 1)[84]

As part of her plans to reduce government involvement in artistic affairs, Van der Laan vowed to simplify the grant application process and to make the evaluation procedure more transparent, while also reducing bureaucracy and the paperwork required from subsidized organizations. The trend of retrenchment in the federal culture budget that had begun in the 1980s would continue into the 2005-2008 planning period, however. She outlined planned reductions of €1.2 million to the culture budget for 2004, with an additional €19 million to be cut beginning in 2005. Public broadcasting would be reduced by €40 million in 2004, with cuts up to €80 million planned for 2007. Given that non-commercial broadcasters spent some €133 million on arts and cultural programming in 2002, which amounted to more than 25%

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[83] *Als je elke vier jaar steeds andere prioriteiten formuleert, dan leidt dat tot beleidsinflatie en strategisch gedrag van instellingen. Dat is weinig effectief. Bovendien geeft deze werkwijze– terecht of niet terecht – steeds meer voedsel aan de gedachte dat het cultuurbeleid er vooral uit bestaat elke vier jaar aan instellingen gedetailleerd voor te schrijven wat zij in die periode moeten doen. Dat is niet mijn gedachte en daarom kies ik voor een andere benadering.*

[84] This quotation appeared in Dutch in the *Uitgangspuntenbrief*, and was quoted again in the English translation of her Cultural Policy Letter, "More than the Sum", several months later.

of their broadcasting time (MinOCenW 2003d, 16), these cuts would not have a trivial impact on Dutch cultural life.

In her Cultural Policy Letter, "More than the Sum", Van der Laan further elaborated her policy goals. Firstly, she rejected the notion that the arts should be used to solve social problems, such as the integration of the immigrant and colonial populations. Secondly, not unlike D'Ancona, she advocated increased interaction between the amateur and professional levels of the arts, particularly through education. Thirdly, she called on arts organizations to be more independent from the federal government, both financially and in terms of their programming. As she put it, "Cultural institutions are not subsidiaries of the Ministry, but rather independent professional organisations that, on the basis of their own responsibility, give form to a flourishing cultural life" (MinOCenW 2003d, 3).

Despite her more "hands off" approach to cultural policy, the proposed budget cuts have nevertheless made it necessary for Van der Laan to establish criteria in order to rank subsidy applicants. First among her priorities was "the plans of artists, companies and institutions with a public and educational task." It would be the Raad voor Cultuur's role to determine which organizations ought to be the financial responsibility of the state, and whether they were functioning effectively and efficiently (MinOCenW 2003d, 6). In terms of the performing arts sector more specifically, Van der Laan made no explicit mention of any particular ensemble or group. Overall, however, she saw a lack of interaction between the upper level, large institutions and the smaller-scale, more innovative organizations:

> There is scarcely any transfer of talented young directors and choreographers to the large companies. As a result, there is insufficient quality at the top. This is resulting in a quality stagnation of the large-scale supply. (MinOCenW 2003d, 8)

Although her policies were couched in a newly-detached and unspecific language, it was not that Van der Laan had eliminated the government's role in artistic affairs: instead, she effectively deflected much of her policy-making power as state secretary of culture, and delegated it to the Raad.

Still, Van der Laan's conception of diversity and integration was a significant departure from those of the Kok cabinets. Rejecting Van der Ploeg's requirement that arts organizations spend 3% of their budgets to recruit new audiences, given the impracticality of measuring and monitoring such compliance, she observed that:

> The existing diversity policy can be rendered more effective through differentiation. It is not the case that every institution must be expected to attract equally large audiences, comprising broadly defined target groups such as 'ethnic groups' or 'young people'. Such definitions do not do justice to the much larger and more close-knit diversity of lifestyles and (sub)cultures which now have come about in our country. It is pointless and impossible to want to involve every social group in every facet of cultural life. The cultural landscape as a whole must become a better reflection of the diversity of the society. (MinOCenW 2003d, 17)

Furthermore, she advocated more diversity among board members and personnel, rather than through an organization's marketing and programming. Van der Laan's approach might thus be likened to a Canadian, "mosaic" philosophy of promoting a broad ethnic representation of cultural groups across society, rather than the American-style "melting pot", or the PvdA's planned usage of arts organizations to promote an enforced integration.

Under Van der Laan's *Cultuurnota 2005-2008: Meer dan de som*, subsidies for arts groups all across the field have not only been maintained at the current level (as under Van der Ploeg), but they have, in many cases, actually been cut outright. Mandatory budget reductions were imposed by the Raad on the performing arts groups, even those receiving a favourable review. Again, the largest music ensembles faced the brunt of the *kaasschaaf* (cheese slicer): 10% would be cut from the supporting structure; the orchestras, opera and the Nederlands Kamerkoor would be cut by 4.3%; and large ensembles would be cut by 2.5%. Van der Laan, however, later reduced the cuts to the orchestras, the Kamerkoor and opera companies to 3%, given that their schedules are planned long in advance, and such drastic funding reductions would have forced the cancellation of contracts (MinOCenW 2004b, 27-8).

Nevertheless, it is clear that economizing is no longer affecting the symphony orchestras and other mainstream Classical groups exclusively, but all genres across the board, including popular and non-western musics; even Rasa had its subsidy reduced by €14,422 (or 2.5% from 2001-2004). Critics of the *Cultuurnota* expressed puzzlement over the Raad's inconsistency and the incongruity of its evaluations with the grants awarded; musicians, particularly in the orchestral and broadcasting sectors, feared major job losses would result (De Beer 2004, *NRC Handelsblad* 2004a, Den Breejen 2004). A report by the management consultancy firm Berenschot, commissioned by Kunsten '92 and Kunst van Vooruitzien, has estimated that the planned cutbacks will place some 6,000 jobs in the culture sector at risk (Drenth, Schulz, and Van Roost 2004). Already, the Netherlands Radio Symphony Orchestra was forced to disband in July 2005 after the loss of its subsidy, and the impact of the cuts to orchestras over the past twenty years have had unquestionably had a devastating economic impact on Dutch instrumental musicians.[85]

New Networks for the Funding and Distribution of Early Music

The Early Music groups had mixed results in the *Cultuurnota,* despite the fact that statistics for 2001-2004 indicate that the five Baroque orchestras continued to post the lowest subsidy dependence ratio, at 18%.[86] Because the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra and the Combattimento Consort fell into the "large ensemble" category, their budgets have also been reduced by nearly 2.5%. The Raad praised the ABO for working in the international marketplace, and noted that the widespread favourable impression it has made abroad improves the musical field in the Netherlands. Still, it critiqued the programming, which was "of high standing, but seldom surprising" (Raad voor Cultuur 2004, 89-90).[87] Concerto '91, renamed Concerto D'Amsterdam, lost its subsidy altogether, due to its uneven performance quality (*ibid*., 41-2). The

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[85] See, for example, the website "Silent Music", which is linked off of the RSO's homepage (http://www.nl-rso.org/). This site was established by two former RSO violists (Ewa Wagner and Marie-Luise Leinhos) in response to cutbacks to the orchestra sector (http://www.silentmusic.nl/, accessed 14 April 2006). The website sells photographs, calendars and other items depicting nude musicians and their instruments in order to protest "against the financial stripping of our culture by the politicians."

[86] The other figures were: 79% (modern orchestras), 63% (jazz ensembles), 61% (miscellaneous ensembles), and 53% (choirs). Source: MinOCenW 2004c.

[87] *Ondanks grote waardering moet de Raad vaststellen dat de programmering van het ensemble kwalitatief hoogstaand maar weinig verrassend is. De Raad is onder de indruk van de wijze waarop*

Orchestra of the 18th Century, however, received a slight increase, though it was 2.5% less than what it had asked for; the Raad continued to praise the Orchestra's concertizing abroad, where it performed a "good ambassador's function for the Netherlands" (*ibid.*, 71-2).[88] The Bachvereniging also received an increase of almost 19% over its budget from the previous quadrennium, despite the mandatory 2.5% budget reduction for large ensembles. Two new Early Music ensembles received modest subsidies: The Brisk Recorder Quartet, and Camerata Trajectina, an ensemble established in 1974 for the performance of Dutch music of the Middle Ages and Renaissance; five others were rejected (see Appendix One).

The Utrecht Festival saw a slight increase in its budget for 2005-2008, with the Raad taking into account the rising costs of musicians' fees, which rose 56% between 1992 and 2000 (*ibid.*, 284-85). Indeed, this has been a problem plaguing the Classical music sector for years, and it is now catching up with the Early Music world as it has become more professionalized.[89] In a recent interview, the Festival's newly-appointed director, Jan Van den Bossche (2004) further estimated that fees for the top stars like Brüggen had risen approximately 80% in the past ten years. The Raad expressed regret, however, that the STOOM had discontinued its collaboration with Rasa—despite the fact that attendance at the Festival had dropped steadily in the

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het ensemble opereert op de internationale markt en is ervan overtuigd dat de uitstraling die het ensemble in het buitenland heeft, het muzikale veld in Nederland ten goede komt.

[88] *De Raad is van mening dat het orkest met de concerten in het buitenland een goede ambassadeursfunctie voor Nederland heeft.*

[89] Norman Lebrecht reported fee increases of 30 to 50% among major American and European companies in the 1990s (Lebrecht 1996, 192).

1990s as the number of non-western concerts increased.[90] Van den Bossche confirmed that it might be possible to program further concerts with either non-western or contemporary ensembles in the future, but that it would not be a "structural point" of the Festival.

In its evaluation, the Raad praised the work of the Festival's new director for helping to revitalize the Festival's programming and to increase audiences. Indeed, reviews of the Festival have improved since Van den Bossche began programming in 2002, and press releases indicate an average of 85% hall occupancy for 2003 and 2004, though a reduced number of concerts has meant lower attendance numbers than during the Festival's peak years.[91] Still, Van den Bossche spoke of the difficulties of having to put on the "same" Festival (i.e., the same high level of performers) with a budget that has not been keeping pace with rising costs; in order to do so, he has had to reduce the number of concerts. While the Raad has recommended that the Festival work with more young musicians (with the assumption that they are cheaper to hire than the major stars), the Festival responded by saying it is already doing so. The Festival's Fringe concerts are certainly one of its most important components, and they provide conservatory students and young professionals the opportunity to gain performing experience and public exposure. One violinist who performed at the 2004 Festival with her fortepiano trio was pleased to note that she was approached by a concert organizer after her performance, and was encouraged by him to submit a demo for his chamber music series. Still other Fringe performers with whom I spoke complained about the low reimbursement rates for travel expenses and the low rate of pay, once donations collected at the door were divided between all members of the ensemble.

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[90] A source close to the STOOM mentioned off the record that ticket sales for these concerts were poor.

[91] Attendance figures were 50,000 visitors in 2003, and 47,000 in 2004 (Trouw 2003, NRC Handelsblad 2004b).

Indeed, the problem of how to assist young Early Musicians in establishing their careers has not been comprehensively addressed by either the Raad, the MinOCenW, or the conservatories. The elimination of the Nederlands Impresariaat by the government in 2002 meant a restructuring in the chamber music sector, especially for small venues. The replacement organization, De Kamervraag, is an advisory agency and information source for musicians, chamber series programmers, and the public, and does not provide management. The Fonds voor Podiumprogrammering en Marketing (Performing Arts Programming and Marketing Fund) has taken on some additional tasks formerly handled by the NI. Van Dael, one of the founders of a new union for chamber musicians, the Belangenvereniging Kamermuziek, noted that it has become much more difficult for *all* chamber musicians, let alone recent conservatory graduates, to get work. With the end of the NI, she noted, there has been a "stop in the normal way of starting a career" (Van Dael 2004). The result has been considerable confusion and frustration, however, from chamber musicians navigating the "Kafkaesque" new system, and neither organization has, to date, confronted the underlying predicament: with more than a thousand chamber ensembles in the Netherlands competing for limited podium space, most can only give about four concerts per year (De Beer and Ramaer 2004, *NRC Handelsblad* 2004c).[92]

In recent years, there have been significant new initiatives in the Early Music field from non-native Dutch musicians. The New Dutch Academy, a period instrument chamber orchestra and chamber music "platform" founded by an ambitious young Australian violist, Simon Murphy, is an interesting recent development.[93] Murphy founded the NDA in 2002 because he felt that his colleagues were not getting the kind of opportunities that should be available given their level of talent; also, he wanted to explore rarely-performed repertoire such as the Mannheim School symphonies, which he felt had been neglected by some of the more established orchestras. Murphy has been able to convince the musicians in his ensemble to donate time, particularly in the beginning, as he worked to get radio exposure and funding. He noted that this was one of the major advantages of working in the Netherlands, because Holland was one of the few places where one could find talented musicians willing to do this.[94] With a high-quality recording produced by the radio (NCRV), Murphy was able to supply a demo to granting agencies and generate more interest in the ensemble. He added that financial support has been accruing with each project; reviewers have been enthusiastic, and the NDA was chosen to headline the closing concert of the 2003 Utrecht Festival. Still, that the NDA was not awarded a structural grant by the Ministerie van OCenW for 2005 underscores the difficulties faced by a new organization attempting to break into the subsidy system.

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[92] The "Kafkaesque" description is a quotation from Roland de Beer and Joost Ramaer's article in the *Volkskrant*.

[93] By "platform", Murphy explained that he wanted to combine scholarly research and performance in a concert presentation. He is hoping to add workshops and interdisciplinary projects to his concert programs in the future (Murphy 2004a, 2004b).

Despite the slump in the recording industry among the major labels, the NDA has, nevertheless, successfully launched three CDs, with a fourth due out in the spring of 2005. Murphy has been working with Polyhymnia, a company founded by former Philips Classics recording technicians, and the recordings are distributed by PentaTone, another company founded by former Philips employees, which specializes in the production of SACDs (Super Audio CDs).[95] In this manner, Murphy hoped to promote the NDA as a new orchestra, with a new generation of musicians, performing new repertoire on a new recording technology.

Murphy's New Dutch Academy is part of a trend of period instrument ensembles which have been working with specialized, independent labels. The Orchestra of the 18th Century now produces its recordings through its own company, The Grand Tour, and distributes them through Glossa, a label co-founded by Orchestra violist Emilio Moreno and his brother (Agrell 2004). Likewise, Ton Koopman has also founded his own label, Antoine Marchand, in conjunction with the Hilversum-based Challenge Records, in order to complete his Bach cantata project. Although he had to mortgage his own home to finance the company, he noted things are going well, and that he can still pay his musicians the same rate as Erato from the

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[94] Note the similarities with Van Dael's account of the Orchestra of the 18th Century's founding above (see p.249).

[95] The SACD, a technology developed by Philips and Sony in 1999, is a high-resolution digital disc that allows for surround sound effects. The discs are playable on both special SACD-enhanced and conventional CD players.

recordings. He described his website, where one can purchase CDs via Paypal, as the "biggest record store in Holland" (Koopman 2004).

Other ensembles have been seeking new means to produce and distribute their recordings. Musica ad Rhenum, founded by an American expatriate, the traverso player and conductor Jed Wentz, is a flexible chamber ensemble which expands to orchestra size, depending on the repertoire performed. In recent years, Wentz has worked with Brilliant Classics/Joan Records, with whom he has recorded such repertoire as Mozart operas, an oratorio by Dutch composer Willem de Fesch, and the chamber music of Couperin. Brilliant Classics is a label with an unusual distribution network: the recordings are sold at budget prices in Kruidvat, one of the largest Dutch drug store chains, and often in boxed sets; they are, however, also distributed outside the Netherlands by the company's affiliates, and are also sold via the internet.

Pieter van Winkel, director of the Classical division at Joan Records, commented on his marketing strategy in a personal interview with this author. He stated that he was able to keep the costs of CDs down by selling on a mass scale; the low cost of an individual disc or box set meant that it was "not a big loss", and consumers could be tempted to try something new. The CDs, he estimated, were particularly attractive to people over 50, who had fixed incomes but plenty of leisure time to listen, and students with limited budgets. That the restricted selection of discs offered in Kruidvat stores changes every two weeks also helps to fuel sales. Moreover, by combining new recordings with licensed old recordings from other labels' back catalogues, he could compile an affordable set of complete works by one composer. The newly-produced recordings help to increase the likelihood that the CDs will be reviewed. Critical reaction has, however, been mixed, particularly regarding the release of a complete set of J.S. Bach's sacred cantatas for the Bach anniversary in 2000. This whirlwind production, featuring the Holland Boys Choir, a pick-up period instrument orchestra, and directed by the relative unknown Pieter Jan Leusink, was completed in only a year and a half. Still, sales were brisk, with some 12 million Bach CDs sold by Kruidvat in 2000, and more than 1 million copies sold of the *St. Matthew Passion*, also recorded with the same ensemble. As Van Winkel put it, "We found a new audience and that's something quite amazing, quite rare" (2001).

While it is too early to tell what impact the cutbacks to the federal culture budget and the recent restructuring of the recording industry will have on Early Music organizations in the Netherlands, there are grounds for both optimism and concern. As Szanto (2003) has noted, arts groups have been encouraged to seek private philanthropy and corporate sponsorship in order to replace some of the lost government funds. By means of encouraging this, a new brochure is available from the MinOCenW (2004a), *Cultureel schenken, nalaten en beleggen*, which provides information on the tax advantages associated with cultural giving, bequeathment and investment for individuals and corporations. It remains to be seen, however, whether private donations will be able to fill the enormous void federal budget reductions have left for the coming period. A review of the four-year subsidy plan has been scheduled by the Balkendende cabinet for 2005 in order to determine if it continues to be the most effective way to distribute subsidy funds (MinOCenW 2004b, 53-54). It is possible that a more flexible approach to grant-giving by the federal government might create more room for new initiatives in the music sector, particularly by young and upcoming ensembles.

Once again, Early Music groups have been working to adapt to these changes in various ways, although in some cases, it has meant a scaling back of concerts and recording projects. A recent press release by the STOOM indicates plans to establish a foundation to raise funds for the organization.[96] Ton Koopman, who has had mixed success with corporate sponsors (see page 379 above), recently expressed ambivalent feelings about having received funds from a private company to support the production of a children's music storybook, which features the ABO in a companion CD (Koopman 2004). The subsidy cutbacks to the Orchestra, however, seem already to be having an impact. One of the younger musicians with the ABO noted that her colleagues from England were being asked to fly budget airlines in order to cut costs; others were asked to share hotel rooms; there were also rumours that a tour might be cancelled during the 2004-05 season because the program was not selling well. As for the Orchestra of the 18th Century, Donna Agrell noted that, despite some changes in sponsorship and fluctuations in grant funding over the years, she felt confident that the ensemble would remain fiscally sound. "We have very, very good management…[and] if we're not getting a subsidy from one area, we get it from somewhere else" (Agrell 2004).

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[96] See http://www.oudemuziek.nl/english/persbericht/pers.htm#2005 (accessed November 1, 2004).

Epilogue

Brinkman's restructuring of the national arts subsidy system in the 1980s was not merely a symbol of broad government cutbacks to the federal budget. It was a direct challenge to the orchestra's hegemony of the culture budget, and even more importantly, it led to a radical rethinking of the nature of the symphony orchestra itself. No longer did one instrumental ensemble seem adequate for the performance of all the various repertoires that fall under the rubric of Classical art music. Both the influence of American popular music, and the growing influx of immigrants to the Netherlands from Turkey and Morocco, and former colonies like Suriname and Indonesia—most of whom have little connection to European Classical music—further made the traditional symphonic repertoire seem less relevant to contemporary Dutch society. Accordingly, the Raad voor de Kunst, the Raad voor Cultuur, the Fonds voor de Podiumkunsten, and other granting agencies became open to the possibility of funding other kinds of performing arts groups, including ensembles specializing in historical performance.

The funding of new areas beyond the traditional canon of symphonic repertoire has not, however, resulted in a more integrated musical culture, or society at large. The unintentional consequence of federal arts policy has been a compartmentalization of different musical genres by venue, institution, and organization. Pots has argued that the resultant impact on the Dutch musical establishment has been minimal, particularly regarding the programming of contemporary music: the music of Dutch composers is rarely performed by Dutch symphonies, except to fulfill a quota;[97] new music is typically performed in its own festivals (i.e., the Holland Festival), or concert halls, such as Amsterdam's *Ijsbreker*; Dutch composers also have their own separate publishers, granting agencies, and concert series (Pots 2002, 368; 557-8, n.12). However, other kinds of music-making have also been affected, in particular Early Music. In general, Dutch orchestras in recent years have become smaller, more flexible, and more specialized in the performance of particular repertoires. In a manner remarkably parallel to the Netherlands' highly subcultural society, the labour of musical production has become more and more divided as follows: the contemporary ensemble to perform new music; the conventional orchestra for the performance of 19th-century and early 20th-century music; and Baroque orchestras for the music of the 18th century. Period instrument ensembles have been able to take advantage of this increased categorization by marketing themselves as the most historically-appropriate, most well-equipped, and most knowledgeable, to perform the music of the Baroque and Classical eras.

There have been attempts by Early Musicians to bridge such divides of genre, historical period, ethnicity and culture in recent years. These have included guest conductorships by Early Music specialists with modern symphonies, the commissioning of new works for historical instruments or period-specialist vocal ensembles, and, in some cases, the partnership of Early Music with non-western ensembles. These kinds of collaborations, which were encouraged by the culture policies of the Purple Coalition, have not always been successful with audiences. In some instances, particularly in the case of the Utrecht Festival of the mid-1990s, they amounted to little more than a sharing of venue space rather than a genuine interaction. Van der Laan's policies reflect a return to the more compartmentalized approach of culture funding, and a rejection of her predecessor Van der Ploeg's enforced attempts at ethnic integration through social design.

Early Musicians in the Netherlands may differentiate themselves from other forms of music-making. However, their influence has nonetheless had a transformative effect on their mainstream counterparts. The reduction of government subsidies to the symphony orchestras has necessitated a restructuring of their labour agreements in order to reduce costs. As Alfredo Bernardini, principal oboist of the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra, has pointed out, many of the modern orchestras are beginning to operate like the period instrument orchestras, exchanging salaries and full-time seasons for freelancing and contract-based work (Bernardini 2004). The result may be more economical, more flexible, and may provide more opportunities for different genres of music. However, the musicians—both Early Music and mainstream classical—find themselves with considerably less job security without guaranteed work periods, salaries and benefits.

The recording industry has also been profoundly affected by the historical performance movement. As Kozinn (1999) has observed, the glut of recordings of

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[97] Under State Secretary of Culture Aad Nuis, at least seven percent of the repertoire by the national

staple 19th-century symphonic music on the market has meant that this repertoire is now the most difficult to get recorded and the most vulnerable to deletion from record company catalogues. As period instrument orchestras and chamber ensembles push into the 19th-century repertoire, they may also face similar problems of audience fatigue and a lack of interest from record companies. Still, the shift in the Classical market from the major companies to specialized boutique labels has, by and large, been a constructive development. The independent record labels have learned a new means of becoming profitable—albeit on a smaller scale—through their work with Early Music ensembles, who tend to work on shorter projects, and with cheaper labour costs, than modern symphonies. By finding niche markets for less familiar repertoire, exploiting new technologies, or by marketing CDs outside of traditional record sales outlets, historical performers in the Netherlands have been carving new distribution networks in order to reach new audiences in the 21st century.

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symphony orchestras was obliged to be by Dutch composers.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PLACE OF EARLY MUSIC IN THE DUTCH CONSERVATORY SYSTEM

Introduction

The Dutch conservatories have long played a prominent role in the development of the Early Music movement. They have been instrumental in shifting Early Music's focus from its amateur roots towards greater professionalization and rapprochement with the musical mainstream. The Dutch institutions were among the first to offer instruction on historical instruments, beginning with the harpsichord (1928)[1] and, later, the first to teach the recorder at a post-secondary level to pre-professional students (1955).[2] Eventually, students choosing to specialize in these subjects were given full accreditation and soloists' diplomas, according them equal status with traditional orchestral instrumentalists. Performers such as Frans Brüggen and Gustav Leonhardt, who had built up international reputations through touring and recording, were granted prominent teaching positions in The Hague and Amsterdam respectively.[3] The unique approach to teaching Early Music in the Netherlands, the distinguished faculty, and the proximity to major historical instrument collections in museums, have all gained the Dutch conservatories international recognition. Since the 1970s, they have attracted Early Music students from all over the world (Leonhardt 1976).

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[1] The Netherlands was not the first institution to offer harpsichord instruction: Wanda Landowska, for example, began teaching at the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin in 1913 (Salter 2001).

[2] The recorder received state exam accreditation in 1955. Kees Otten was already teaching recorder at the Amsterdams Muzieklyceum in 1945, but this institution was not yet recognized by the state (Luxemburger 1997, 163). According to Ehrlich (1993, 449), Brüggen was also added to the Muzieklyceum's roster in 1953.

Several factors have contributed to the Dutch conservatories' rise in prominence for the teaching of Early Music. Perhaps most significant in this regard has been the recorder (*blokfluit*) and its important role in the music education of Dutch schoolchildren. In both the elementary schools and music academies, the recorder became the foundation for the acquisition of basic musical skills, including the instruction of pitch, notation, rhythm and ensemble playing. Although the recorders used for pedagogical models were not, strictly-speaking, historical copies, they nevertheless greatly increased the public's understanding and appreciation of the instrument, and of Baroque and Renaissance music.

As part of a reform movement to music studies for children in the first decades of the 20th century, the recorder became a component of their general education, or Algemeen Vormend Muziekonderwijs (General Formative Music Education, or AVM). One of the principal developers of the AVM was Willem

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[3] Leonhardt began teaching in Amsterdam in 1954. The exact year of Brüggen's appointment in The Hague is not clear. Thomson (2001), in *New Grove*, states that Brüggen was 21 years old when he first began teaching in The Hague, which would be 1955 or 1956. However, there was no announcement to that effect in *Mens en Melodie*, while his appointment to the Brabants Conservatorium in 1957 was listed that year (vol. 12, no. 11, "Besprekingen en Berichten", p.328); it is possible that he might have been teaching on a contract or "unofficial" basis in The Hague. Ehrlich (1993, 449) gives the year of appointment in The Hague as 1962, but this was probably a promotion to a full-time professorship. Daniskas ([1959a], 125) lists Brüggen on the teaching roster by 1959, and Kasander (2001 [1976]) notes that Brüggen began teaching recorder and chamber music lessons in The Hague that year.

Gehrels (1885-1971), who in the 1930s developed a school of instruction based on the German pedagogical methods of Fritz Joede and Leo Kestenberg. Gehrels's three-stage program emphasized group music-making using simple, inexpensive instruments like the soprano recorder. Also active during this period was Justine Ward (1879-1975), an American educator working in the Netherlands. Ward developed a method of vocal instruction for children based on Gregorian chant and folk songs for use in the Dutch Catholic school classrooms. Gehrels, Ward and her successor Jos Lennards (who, unlike Ward, was also a proponent of the recorder), were highly influential on the country's musical life.[4] Their methodologies not only provided children with a sense of music appreciation and solid groundwork for further instruction. They also set up institutions offering teacher training and certification, and these credentials were recognized by both music academies and public schools. When the Dutch national school curriculum was redesigned in the period following World War II, many of Ward's and Gehrels's ideas and concepts—including the use of the recorder for classroom instruction—were incorporated into the Amendment to the Primary Education Act of 1964 (Luxemberger 1997, 108-118).

Developments in the compulsory education system and the music schools were also complemented by important reforms to postsecondary, professional arts education in the postwar period. As the Dutch social welfare state increased exponentially, so too did music education programs. In order to standardize teaching quality, the government took over the supervision and financing of music schools and conservatories from private and independent organizations. New music schools were founded, curricula were developed, and federal spending in this area was increased. Not surprisingly, a period of enormous growth in the Dutch Early Music movement coincided with this phase of expansion in the Dutch conservatory system. During the 1970s and early 1980s, an increasing number of publicly-funded music schools received government accreditation as full-fledged conservatories. As such, the number of institutions offering both teaching and soloist diplomas on period instruments increased.

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[4] The Gehrels Vereniging and the Ward Centrum are still active in the Netherlands today. See http://www.gehrelsvereniging.nl/ and http://www.wardcentrum.nl/ (accessed 20 November 2004).

Most notable, however, were developments at the Koninklijk Conservatorium (Royal Conservatory) in The Hague. As the British recorder player Robert Ehrlich has noted, Brüggen's recorder class, which was well-established by the early 1960s, would become "the beginning of the full integration of the recorder into the canons of the serious specialty instruments at the conservatoires of Western Europe; it was probably the first recorder class of the world, led by a virtuoso with an international reputation, in the context of a nationally supported system both for students and for professional musicians" (1993, 449). Under the directorship of Jan van Vlijmen (1970-1985), the Koninklijk Conservatorium became a vanguard in the field of Early Music. Van Vlijmen greatly expanded the teaching of historical performance there into a complete Early Music department. Guest teachers such as Nikolaus Harnoncourt were invited to conduct student projects, and the program was eventually expanded to a near-complete instrumentarium with the hiring of the Kuijken brothers (Baroque flute, violin and viola da gamba), and other specialists on oboe, lute, and early brass. While the Royal Conservatory established itself as the primary Dutch conservatory specializing in historical performance, other departments of note were established in Amsterdam and Utrecht. Most of the other conservatories have offered, if not a full department, at the very least instruction on the recorder and harpsichord.

A detailed examination of the Dutch education system and its methods of music instruction is essential to understanding the Early Music movement in the Netherlands. Firstly, the close connections between the professional and general (amateur) music education sectors account for one of the most remarkable aspects of Early Music's audience: the high rate of amateur music participation among concert listeners. A 1992 study of the Holland Festival Oude Muziek Utrecht's patrons indicated that approximately half were singers or played an instrument (Verhoeff 1992, 55).[5] Clearly, an educated and knowledgeable support base has provided the foundation for Early Music's audience success in the Netherlands.

Secondly, the structure of Dutch professional music education provides important insight into the so-called "Dutch Baroque" performance style,[6] and about the practices of musicians active in the Early Music scene today. Unlike the United States and Canada, where performance is often taught within a university music department, the conservatory system in the Netherlands is entirely independent of the academic stream of postsecondary education. Music performance has thus been taught in almost complete isolation from programs in ethno- and historical musicology. In this regard, the Dutch conservatories more closely resemble the German model of music instruction, where performance is taught in the Hochschule für Musik, and musicology is taught in the universities.[7] While historical performance is typically perceived to be a field bridging these disciplines, the Dutch conservatory curriculum stresses the practical component almost exclusively. As the university and conservatory systems have been moving closer together in recent years, these two instructional methodologies have been forced to confront each other: the traditional conservatory teaching methods, which emphasize obedience to the master teacher, and the precise, note-perfect execution of the score, and a more "liberal arts" approach to historical performance, one which advocates the critical reading of texts and the debate of ideas. The generational and cultural differences between the mostly-Dutch conservatory faculty and the younger, international student body are also reflected in their different approaches to performance. The opening up of Western European educational institutions to the East through cultural exchange programs and the increasing circulation of students among European Union-member countries has led to an increasingly diverse demographic among Early Musicians. This can be seen among the current conservatory student body and among young professionals, many of whom are foreigners who have chosen to stay on in the Netherlands after graduation.

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[5] By contrast, 2003 statistics provided by the CBS (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek) indicate that about 15% of the general population participates in recreational music-making or singing (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 2004, 93).

[6] "Both imagination and scholarship play a part, too, in the mannered inflections and *messa di voce* swellings of the Dutch school of Baroque performance. That this style is now widely accepted as authentic is a tribute to the conviction and intelligence that musicians like Leonhardt, Brüggen and the Kuijkens bring to their performances" (Haskell 1996, 186).

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[7] The term "Hochschule" was adopted in German-speaking countries in the 1920s (Cahn 2001).

Thirdly, the history of the Dutch conservatory system is an important case study that illustrates the effects of government involvement in artistic affairs. While this subject is developed in greater detail in Chapter Six, the conservatories in the Netherlands have nonetheless faced many of the same problems and challenges encountered by other Dutch music institutions in recent years. As the welfare state has undergone a process of retrenchment since the 1980s, the federal government has made corresponding cutbacks to arts education. Many conservatories have faced financial instability, and several schools have been forced to merge or reduce enrolment. This has, in turn, affected the size and scope of the Early Music programs offered.

Moreover, curriculum reform in the conservatories has been the subject of heated parliamentary debate in the past fifteen years. This has led to a restructuring of the degree system, a reduction in the amount of time allotted to students for program completion, and attempts to blur the boundaries between the academic university (WO, or *wetenschappelijk onderwijs*) and the Higher Professional Education (HBO, or *hoger beroepsonderwijs*, also known as *hogescholen*) systems, the latter to which the conservatories now belong. As part of its plans to promote diversity and multiculturalism in the arts, the federal Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, MinOCenW) has also sought to make the conservatories more inclusive of musical genres outside of the western Classical tradition. As such, funds have been diverted from the traditional symphonic and operatic training offered by the conservatories to other kinds of music-making. This has not only meant increased funds for Early Music and programs in contemporary and electronic music: in recent years, new departments and even specialized institutions for the teaching of jazz, popular (*lichte muziek*, literally "light music") and non-western musics have also been established. If the Dutch Early Music programs are to survive in the 21st century, they must not only adapt to changing government regulations and degree requirements, but they must also prove their relevance to an increasingly competitive music marketplace.

The Development of the Dutch Music Education System

Origins

In the 19th century, music instruction in the Netherlands was not yet a concern of the federal government. Like the founding of the country's symphony orchestras and choral societies, the first attempts to systematize music education were largely *burgerlijk* (middle class) initiatives undertaken by private citizens. By the end of the 18th century, many began to question the quality of musical training then available in the Netherlands, and regret was expressed that so many professional musicians had to be imported from abroad, especially from Germany (Daniskas [1959], 112; Reeser 1986, 13-14).

The establishment of the Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst (Association for the Promotion of the Art of Music) in 1829 was a pivotal step towards improving musical tuition in the Netherlands. The Toonkunst founded numerous music schools and choirs throughout the country, where both vocal and instrumental instruction were offered.[8] They also developed educational materials and curricula for use in these academies, largely modeled on those of the Leipzig Conservatorium (Daniskas [1959], 112). Additionally, there were two other institutions of note founded during this period. By decree of Willem I, Royal Music Schools (Koninklijke Muzik- en Zangscholen) in The Hague and Amsterdam were established in 1826 (Reeser 1986, 14).[9] These institutions were entirely independent of the Toonkunst academies, however. The Amsterdam academy was dissolved some twenty years after its founding, although it was reestablished shortly thereafter under a different name (Kasander 2001, 7).[10] Still, under Prime Minister Thorbecke,[11] the federal government showed little willingness to involve itself in artistic affairs. Between 1870 and 1900, only the Toonkunst schools in Amsterdam and The Hague received subsidies through the federal budget, though these grants were modest—about 4% of the total arts budget (Van den Berg 2001[?], II.2-1-11 - 12).[12]

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[8] Van Dokkum (1929, 211) gives the Toonkunstschool foundation dates as follows: Rotterdam, 1843; Amsterdam, 1865; Haarlem, 1874; Utrecht, 1875; Dordrect, 1883 (merger with another school). By the end of the 19th century, schools were also founded in Bussum, Nijmegen, Schiedam, Zeist, and Amersfoort.

[9] Compared to the Netherlands' neighbouring countries, the Royal Music Schools were a relatively early development. Following the establishment of the Paris Conservatoire in 1795, conservatories or other professional schools were established in Brussels (1813), Vienna (1817), Graz (1817), Innsbruck (1819), Linz (1823), Klagenfurt (1828), Pest (1840), Salzburg (1841), Leipzig (1843) and Brno (1862). Most major German cities did not establish conservatories until the mid-19th century, such as Cologne (1845), Munich (1846), Berlin (1850, 1855, 1869), Strasbourg (1855), Dresden (1856), Stuttgart (1857), Weimar (1872), Hamburg (1873), and Karlsruhe (1884). See Cahn 2001, Gessele 2001.

[10] Paap and Kolsteeg (2001) give the Amsterdam opening date as 1827; they further note that the school was renamed the Stedelijke Muziekschool from 1844 to 1852. According to Kasander, both schools were founded in 1826 by Willem I, but did not open until January 1827 (2001, 6-8).

[11] Thorbecke was effectively the first Dutch Prime Minister, an office he held three times (1849–53, 1862–66, and 1871–72).

The Toonkunst also sought to improve general musical education for all children in the public schools. In 1857, at the urging of this organization, singing classes were introduced into the elementary school curriculum under the Primary Education Act (Daniskas [1959], 112; Luxemberger 1997, 108). However, these classes did not provide much direct instruction in musical basics; they amounted to little more than a weekly hour of group singing from official songbooks published by the state. Remarkably, these very same books were used right up until World War II, and even after the war, well into the 1950s, the "weekly hour of singing songs" continued to be the most common form of music education in the primary schools (Luxemberger 1997, 108; Daniskas [1959], 136).[13]

It was not until the end of the 19th century that significant attempts were made to systematize Dutch music education, at least for those students who planned to make music their career. In 1880, the Toonkunst set up an examination system for professional musicians (Holtkamp 1999, 203).[14] Other organizations were founded at this time, such as the Muziek-paedagogisch Verbond (Music Teaching Union) and the Koninklijke Nederlandse Toonkunstenaars Vereniging (KNTV, or Royal Netherlands

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[12] This publication lists no date, but Truus van Schoot, librarian of the Letterenbibliotheek Utrecht, gave an approximate date of 2000 or 2001 (email, 17 November 2004).

[13] A government study entitled Muzikale Vorming (musical formation), commissioned by the Ministerie van O en W and the Ministerie van WVC, found that in half of the Dutch elementary schools, this was *still* the case in the early 1990s! See Luttikhuis and Peters 1993.

[14] Paap and Kolsteeg (2001) give the date as 1881, but Beijer and Samama (1989, 169) also give 1880.

Musicians Society), which also set up examinations to certify music teachers (Daniskas [1959], 112).

Another important milestone was the establishment of the Netherlands' first official conservatory in 1884. The Amsterdamsch Conservatorium, predecessor of the present-day Conservatorium van Amsterdam, was founded by a group of the foremost Dutch musicians of the time, Daniël de Lange, Frans Coenen, Johan Messchaert and Julius Röntgen. Unlike the music schools founded by the Toonkunst, this Conservatorium was said to be the first institution established for the sole purpose of educating professional musicians. While under the management of the Amsterdam Toonkunst chapter's advisory board, the Conservatorium was otherwise financially and artistically independent. Although not yet under the supervision of the government, it was funded in part by subsidies from the city of Amsterdam and the province of Noord-Holland. Five main subjects were offered: piano, organ, violin, cello and voice; lessons in harmony and ensemble playing were also given by Coenen, the Conservatorium's first director. These were broadened in 1889 to include winds, harp and contrabass. As the Conservatorium increased in size and its reputation grew, its municipal subsidy was doubled in 1908 (Holtkamp 1999, 203-5).

Only a few years later, the construction of Amsterdam's now-celebrated concert hall, the Concertgebouw (1888) was completed, and its permanent orchestra-in-residence, the (Koninklijk) Concertgebouworkest (Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra),[15] was founded. These were landmark events in Dutch musical life: the excellent acoustics of the *grote* and *kleine zalen* (large and small halls) helped to establish Amsterdam as an important tour stop for traveling orchestras and chamber musicians, while the Concertgebouworkest soon surpassed the performance standards of other Dutch orchestras, and rose to international stature under Willem Mengelberg's directorship (1895-1945). The Orkest also played an important educational role. Willem Kes (1853-1934), the Concertgebouw Orchestra's first conductor, established a special orchestral training school for young instrumentalists in 1890. This Orkestschool was taken over by the Concertgebouw upon Kes's departure from the Netherlands in 1895, and eventually incorporated into the Amsterdamsch Conservatorium in 1898.[16] The principal chairs of the orchestra were hired as Conservatorium instructors, and Mengelberg became head of the piano department (Van der Veen and Giskes 2000; Holtkamp 1999, 204).

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[15] The Orchestra was granted the status of "Koninklijk" (royal) in 1988.

Meanwhile, the Conservatorium in The Hague was established in 1900, supplanting its predecessor, the Koninklijke Muzijkschool; the new conservatory was given the designation "koninklijk" in 1919 (Von Gleich, Davidson and Thijsse 2001). Whether the Conservatorium in Amsterdam or that in The Hague should be credited as the first professional music school in the Netherlands has long been a matter of debate, however. W.F.G. Nicolaï, director of the Koninklijke Muziekschool at the time of the Amsterdamsch Conservatorium's founding, protested the rival institution's claims of primacy in the field of higher musical education (Van Dokkum 1929, 217-8). Indeed, the Koninklijk Conservatorium recently celebrated its 175th anniversary, using the 1826 date as its foundation year (Wennekes 2001), and it is also used by current director Frans de Ruiter in his opening message on the school's website.[17] Regardless of the historical record, this dispute over who can claim to be the Netherlands' oldest Conservatorium in many ways epitomizes the longtime professional rivalry between these two institutions.

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[16] Van der Veen and Giskes (2001) give the date of incorporation with the Conservatorium as 1915. Given that Holtkamp's sources are more current, however, it seems that her dates reflect more recent archival research than the *New Grove* article.

Apart from Amsterdam and The Hague, music schools in two other Dutch cities merit a mention. The origins of the Utrecht Conservatorium date to 1875, although at this time it was established as one of the Toonkunst's music schools, and not specifically geared for postsecondary professional education.[18] The Utrechtsche Toonkunstschool had, however, achieved parity with the Conservatoria's educational level by 1904, with the appointment of director Johannes Wagenaar (Van Dokkum 1929, 219). While the Rotterdam music school was the oldest of these Toonkunst academies, having been established in 1843 (Van Dokkum 1929, 211), the city did not have an institution officially designated as a Conservatorium until 1930.[19]

1918-1940: Government Standardization

Following World War I, the federal government became much more involved in the education of its citizens, and, by extension, in their musical schooling as well.

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[17] See http://www.koncon.nl/public_site/kcintro.html (Accessed 22 November 2004).

[18] *De geschiedenis van de faculteit gaat terug tot 1875, toen het Utrechts Conservatorium werd opgericht* (the history of the faculty goes back to 1875, when the Utrecht Conservatorium was established). See the Utrecht Conservatorium's website, http://fac-muziek.hku.nl/hku/show/id=45001 (Accessed 22 November 2004).

[19] See the Rotterdams Conservatorium's website, http://www.hmd.nl/RC/secties_NED/home/Geschiedenis.html (accessed 22 November 2004).

In this regard, the establishment of the Ministerie van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen (OKW, or Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences) in 1918 provided the first vital impetus towards national educational reform.[20] Prior to this point, education had been covered under the Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken (Ministry of the Interior), but its assignment to a separate ministry implied greater government attention to this area, in addition to greater financial support.

The Ministerie laid out a number of ambitious educational reform projects, many of which involved music education. Plans were made to reform the music classes in primary schools, as well as extending their reach into secondary schools, and to increase government funding (and supervision) of the private music academies (Daniskas [1959a], 113). While most of these goals were not met until after World War II, the Ministerie did achieve some important initial successes, particularly at the postsecondary level. Most notable was the founding of a musicology program at Utrecht University in 1930. While the Toonkunst had created its musicological branch, the Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis (Royal Society for Music History of the Netherlands)[21] in 1868, it had been lobbying the government unsuccessfully since 1875 to establish a music history program in the Dutch universities, one which would be similar to departments in Germany and Vienna. Finally, a royal decree was issued on 1 August 1928 that granted the

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[20] Note that this Ministerie is a predecessor of the present-day Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap. In 1965, the culture docket was transferred to the Ministerie van Cultuur, Recreatie en Maatschappelijk Werk (CRM, or Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work); it was returned to the Education ministry in 1994. Culture also formed a part of Ministerie van Welzijn, Volksgezondheid en Cultuur (WVC, or Ministry of Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs) from 1982 to 1989.

[21] See Chapter Five, p. 183.

Toonkunst the authority to appoint a professor of music theory and history in Utrecht. Dr. Albert Smijers (1888-1957) was chosen as the first chair (*hoogleraar*), and within a few years Willem Mengelberg was also appointed to the program. The department rapidly expanded into the Utrechtse Instituut voor Muziekwetenschap (Utrecht Institute for Musicology) (Samama 1986, 89).

Musicology was also offered at two other state universities soon after the establishment of the Utrecht program. Karel Philippus Bernet Kempers (1897-1974) taught privately at the University of Amsterdam, beginning in 1929; he was promoted to *lector* in 1937, and eventually *hoogleraar* after World War II. Under Jaap Kunst, the UvA became an important centre for the study of ethnomusicology by the 1950s. Evert W. Schallenberg (1893-1972) was appointed as a private teacher of musicology at Leiden University in 1932, and promoted to *hoogleraar* in 1950 (Van der Klis 1991, 35). A course in music was offered at the Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen,[22] beginning in 1952, but only as a second subject (Daniskas [1959a], 115). A minor study in musicology was also offered in Groningen, beginning in 1960 (Boon and Schrijnen-van Gastel 1981, 40). The development of Dutch musicology, then, followed the continental European model of dividing music studies between practical performance training in conservatories and academic study in universities, and the division thus created has persisted to the present.

The Ministerie van OWK also began to become more involved in the conservatories, which at this point continued to operate as private, independent institutions. Because a number of organizations, such as the Toonkunst and the KNTV, were issuing competing certifications and exams for music teachers, the Ministerie established its own standardized music examinations in 1935 (Daniskas [1959a], 113; Luxemberger 1997, 122). Conservatory graduates could then receive an official diploma recognized by the government (Holtkamp 1999, 204).

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[22] This institution was renamed Radboud University Nijmegen as of 1 September 2004.

Outside of Amsterdam and The Hague, several other major music schools were moving in the direction of professionalized training by 1930, though they were not yet acknowledged as official conservatories by the state. The Rotterdams Toonkunst-Conservatorium voor Muziek, which was founded in that year, attracted a number of students, largely due to the fame of its director, the composer Willem Pijper (1894-1947) (Samama 1986, 83).[23] The Utrecht Toonkunst Muziekschool formed an official conservatory (pre-professional) division, as did a Catholic music school in Tilburg. A Rooms-Katholieke Kermuziekschool (Catholic school for sacred music) was also founded in Utrecht in 1925 (Samama 1986, 89).

The Amsterdamsch Conservatorium was likewise continuing to expand and evolve. A harpsichord teacher, Pauline Aubert, was appointed there in 1928, after Wanda Landowska's successful touring through the Netherlands had inspired a revival of this instrument (see Chapter Five, pp. 180-81). An opera class was added in 1934 with the support of the Nederlandse Wagnervereniging (Dutch Wagner foundation). Because enrolment was expanding, a new building for the Conservatorium was built in the Bachstraat with the assistance of government funds

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[23] Several smaller music schools in Rotterdam could not compete with the clout of Pijper and the financial resources of the new Toonkunst-backed Conservatorium, and as such, the latter became the only institution recognized for professional musical training.

(Holtkamp 1999, 204).[24] While this location now houses the current Muziekschool Amsterdam (a community music school), the Classical department of the Conservatorium van Amsterdam still uses the Bachzaal as its primary recital hall.

In the meantime, a group of teachers from the Amsterdamsch Conservatorium had grown dissatisfied with this institution, and decided to secede in 1921. They formed their own establishment, the Vereniging Muzieklyceum Amsterdam. By using the name *lyceum* instead of *conservatorium*, the direction sought to distinguish themselves from the latter type of institution, namely by aiming to educate both professional and amateur musicians (not, that is, to create the teacher-training institute that the term would more typically imply). Remarkably, the federal government saw the need for a second high-level music school in Amsterdam, and also granted the new institution a subsidy (Holtkamp 1999, 205).

The new Lyceum did not, however, play second fiddle to the larger and more established Conservatorium, but rather found its own niche. It rapidly acquired a reputation for being more experimental than the conservatory, for example by embracing contemporary music with great enthusiasm (Samama 1986, 78). The Lyceum was also one of the first Dutch institutions to promote the study of historical instruments as a serious pursuit—much more so than the Amsterdam and The Hague Conservatoria, whose Early Music programs did not develop until the 1960s. Anthon van der Horst (1899-1965), organist, conductor and Bach enthusiast, taught at the

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[24] The Bachstraat is, of course, named after J.S. Bach; it is situated a few blocks from the Beethovenstraat in Amsterdam's posh Oud Zuid neighbourhood. Many of the streets in the area are named after composers.

Lyceum from 1922 until 1927.[25] While the teaching of the harpsichord declined at the Conservatorium following the departure of Pauline Aubert,[26] the Lyceum appointed Erwin Bodky (1896-1958), who became an important pedagogue. Bodky, who was one of the first harpsichordists to perform on original instruments, taught at the Lyceum from 1933 until 1938, when he emigrated to the United States. After Bodky's departure, Hans Brandts Buys, another important Bach performer and scholar, was appointed teacher of harpsichord, basso continuo, and harmony (Van der Klis 1991, 68).[27] The Lyceum would be the first institution to offer recorder studies after World War II, far earlier than any of the conservatories.

In terms of general music education and programs for children, developments at this time continued to occur outside of the government sphere. As noted above, the work of Justine Ward and Willem Gehrels was particularly important in this regard. Gehrels, an advocate of the recorder for educational purposes, designed his own curriculum for teaching children basic musical skills. He founded his first Volksmuziekschool (Popular Music School) in Amsterdam in 1931 (Luxemberger 1997, 111).[28] By 1935, Gehrels had become affiliated with the Toonkunst, thus allowing further spread of his pedagogical methods. Additional Volksmuziekscholen were founded in Rotterdam, The Hague, Haarlem and Nijmegen (Pots 2002, 237-8).

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[25] Van der Horst's biography is available from MuziekGroep Nederland at http://catalogus.muziekgroep.nl/minisis/files/bios/b002363.doc (Accessed 24 November 2004). For more on his Bach performance activities, see Chapter Five.

[26] Her replacement, Richard Boer, taught harpsichord at the Conservatorium until Gustav Leonhardt's appointment in 1954. Boer was primarily a pianist, and several of his former students noted that his playing technique had become outmoded (see Van der Klis 1991, 81; 87-88, and Chapter Five, p. 182 note 18).

[27] For more on Buys, see Chapter Five, p.182.

[28] Pots gives 1932 as the founding date; the school actually opened that January, but was established several months earlier.

1945-1965: The Postwar Reform Period

The period following World War II was marked by enormous changes across the Dutch education system, from elementary schooling right through to the postsecondary level. Likewise, music education was also profoundly affected, as the Ministerie van OKW set new standards and regulations for music instruction for both amateurs and pre-professionals. The goal was to standardize the rather chaotic situation that had existed prior to 1945, with the confusing array of diplomas and pedagogies available to music students. Everything from the examination and degree systems, teaching methodology, to the structure of institutions was affected by the Ministerie's reform initiatives.

For the first time, the instruction of music was subsidized by the federal government. After 1947, the state began to finance the conservatories, municipal and regional music schools; it eventually took over the support of the Toonkunst schools and Gehrels's Volksmuziekscholen as well (Pots 2002, 238, 284; Paap and Kolsteeg 2001). The government's involvement, however, was not neutral: the granting of subsidies did not come without conditions attached. Increased federal funding also brought greater government supervision of the music schools' activities.

A Rijksinspecteur voor het Muziekonderwijs (State Inspector for Musical Education) was appointed to oversee the state-funded music institutions, a position John Daniskas would hold from 1954 until his retirement in 1974 (Daniskas 1973, Luxemberger 1997, 125). In order to receive funding, and to be officially recognized by the government, schools had to comply with certain regulations: namely, that all staff possessed official teaching diplomas, and that student examinations were held in accordance with state guidelines. Those institutions which did not comply could lose their federal subsidy (Luxemberger 1997, 129-131). Still, most schools saw the benefits of compliance with the Ministerie. Between 1954 and 1965, the number of state-funded music schools increased from 20 to 72 (Pots 2002, 285). By 1980, there were over 160 (Luxemberger 1997, 136).

As Inspector, Daniskas worked with a number of government committees charged with the reformation of the music education system. One of these, the Commissie Reinalda[29] (Reinalda Commission), produced a report in 1956 which outlined the tasks of the different institutions for music education, their enrolment quotas, and the types of degrees that they could offer (Luxemberger 1997, 125). Further refinements to this system were undertaken by another committee, the Commissie tot Herziening van de Diplomering en Eindexameneisen (the commission for the revision of diploma and final exam requirements), beginning in 1958. This Commissie, which was chaired by Daniskas, produced a three-volume report entitled *Het muziekvakonderwijs in Nederland* (MinOKW 1960-1962). Here, the entrance exam, jury (mid-study performance evaluations), and final exam requirements were itemized, and the provisions for the state recognition of music schools were outlined. The resultant system these commissions devised is summarized in Table 3 below.

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[29] The commission was named after its chair, Marius Antoon Reinalda (1888-1965), a member of the Labour Party (PvdA).

TABLE 3

DUTCH POSTSECONDARY MUSIC EDUCATION CA. 1961[30]

School	**Enrolment guidelines**	**Training offered**	**Diploma types**
Conservatorium conservatory	150	• solo instrumental/vocal • conducting (orchestral, choir, harmony & fanfare ensemble) • orchestral playing • teacher training (instrumental/vocal) • general music education, secondary school • *Algemene Muzikale Vorming* (AMV, or general music education) • Conducting (church choirs, amateur orchestras)	*Soloist diploma* • **C** *Einddiploma Conservatorium* (not an education degree) *Education diplomas:* Akte muziekonderwijs • **A** *lager onderwijs* (music school teacher, AMV) • **B** *hoger onderwijs* (solfège, teacher in Conservatoria, Muziekschool or secondary school)
Muzieklyceum music college	100	• Same as Conservatoria, but solo performance studies in instrumental and vocal training not offered (orchestral only)	Education diplomas A & B; performance einddiploma in orchestral playing; conducting and church music (practical diplomas)
Muziekschool met vakopleiding music school with professional training	60-75 (not more than 25 in *vakopleiding*)	• Instrumental teacher training	Education diploma A; practical certificates only

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[30] Sources: Luxemberger 1997, 126-130; Paap 1961; Daniskas 1959, 119-129; Paap 1956.

The Conservatoria, then, offered the broadest possibilities for musical training; as the largest of the three institutions, all diploma types were offered. The Muzieklycea offered most of the same diplomas as the Conservatoria, but did not offer soloist performance training; still, it was possible to study orchestral performance. The Muziekscholen met vakopleiding were designed only to train instrumental teachers for music schools (Luxemberger 1997, 126-7). By certifying three different types of music institutions, the government hoped to spread the educational possibilities outside of the *randstad* to the provinces, without creating more conservatories (Paap 1956, 241).

Daniskas's report also noted several other programs and degrees available in the conservatories. A student who performed a particularly exceptional final exam could qualify for the *Prijs van uitnemendheid* (prize of excellence). In addition to the A and B diplomas, it was also possible to obtain specialized pedagogy certificates in vocal, instrumental or AMV education, and special *Praktijkdiplomas* (practical diplomas) for church music performance and conducting, the instruction of amateurs, and amateur choir or ensemble conducting (Paap 1961, 130-1). Studies in composition did not receive a diploma, according to Paap, "because the term 'certified composer' for this typically creative profession is very peculiar."[31] Still, student composers could have works for a variety of different instrumental and vocal settings evaluated by a jury, making them eligible for a *Conservatorium-prijs voor compositie* (conservatory prize for composition). Notably, while a certificate in counterpoint and harmony was available, one in music history was *not*: "Diplomas in the field of music history are also no longer available, given that this has become a matter for the universities" (Paap 161, 130).[32] Thus, the separation of musicology and practical performance, and their placement in different institutions, was very clearly delimited by the Ministerie.

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[31] *Het vak compositie valt voortaan buiten de diplomering, omdat het begrip 'gediplomeerd componist' voor dit typisch-creatieve vak wel wat wonderlijk is* [emphasis in original].

A 1959 survey of the Dutch education system by Daniskas ([1959a], 124-129), notes that there were at this time seven government-recognized Conservatoria in the Netherlands: the Royal Conservatory in The Hague (fully subsidized by the state); the Conservatoria in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Utrecht; and three schools which had received provisional recognition—the Amsterdam Muzieklyceum, Brabant Conservatorium (in Tilburg) and the Maastricht Conservatorium. Note that the Amsterdam Muzieklyceum, despite its name, was not placed in the "muzieklyceum" category as described in Table 3, but rather treated as a full-fledged conservatory. Three other schools were listed as Music Lycea according to the above description, located in Groningen, Zwolle and Arnhem (see Appendix 2).

The new institutional and diploma guidelines had several implications for the Early Music movement. Most significant was the achievement of official government recognition of the recorder. During the restructuring of the music examination system in the mid-1950s, Kees Otten and Joannes Colette successfully lobbied the Ministerie to include the recorder in the curriculum (Van der Klis 1991, 105). The recorder was thus incorporated into the examination system on December 17, 1955

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[32] *Diplomering op het terrein van de muziekgeschiedenis komt ook niet meer voor, omdat dit een universiteitsaangelegenheid geworden is* [emphasis in original].

(Otten 1956, 51). However, it was only possible at this time to obtain an A, or primary education, diploma (Luxemberger 1997, 127-8). Under the Daniskas Commissie report, however, the recorder obtained a status equal to the orchestral instruments: it was now possible to obtain not only both the A and B education diplomas, but also the prestigious Einddiploma Conservatorium in this subject (Paap 1961, 129; Luxemberger 1997, 132). As early as 1961, then, it was possible to obtain a soloist's diploma from the conservatories on *two* historical instruments—the recorder and the harpsichord (Paap 1961, 129). Daniskas himself had studied the harpsichord with Erwin Bodky, which perhaps made him more disposed to Early Music (Lievense 1987, 198).

As a result of the new regulations, the conservatories began to expand the teaching of the recorder and harpsichord, while gradually adding other historical instruments. The Muzieklyceum in Amsterdam, as noted above, was one of the first institutions to promote the instruction of Early Music, particularly the recorder. Because the Lyceum was operating outside of the government-funded conservatories and their regulations, the administration had more flexibility in determining their own curriculum and course offerings. Kees Otten, one of the founding fathers of the modern school of Dutch recorder playing and among the first to tour as a recorder soloist, was appointed teacher there in 1945.[33] By 1950, he had designed and was teaching his own course geared for professional recorder players (Luxemberger 1997, 163-4). Among Otten's first students was Frans Brüggen, one of the first to obtain the Lyceum's—and indeed the Netherlands'—first soloist diplomas on the recorder in 1954 (Van der Klis 1991, 106).[34] Another of Otten's pupils, Marijke Ferguson, later became his wife. Together, the Ottens and Joannes Collette formed an ensemble for the performance of Medieval and Renaissance music, the Muziekkring Obrecht (1953-1961). With this group, they concertized frequently, and made a number of television and radio appearances. Ferguson went on to found another ensemble, Studio Laren, which performed for more than thirty years; she also hosted a phenomenally popular radio program which featured Early Music.

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[33] Otten's official website, however, gives 1947 as the year he began teaching at the Muzieklyceum. See http://www.antenna.nl/kees.otten/biografie.html (Accessed 24 November 2004). This might refer to a promotion, however, to *hoofdleraar*.

After it was officially granted state examination status in 1955, the recorder was added to the teaching roster of the major Dutch conservatories. Because of Otten's success at the Lyceum, he was soon hired at the Rotterdams Conservatorium (1955); Joannes Collette was appointed to the Utrechts Conservatorium that same year (Luxemberger 1997, 169). Otten was also appointed to the Utrecht faculty in 1957, and finally to the Amsterdams Conservatorium in 1958.[35] By 1959, six of the seven conservatories included a number of the Dutch Early Music movement's pioneers on their faculties (Daniskas [1959], 125-7). Recorder was taught in The Hague by Frans Brüggen; Joannes Collette was teaching in Utrecht; and Kees Otten was teaching in Amsterdam, Utrecht and Rotterdam. By the mid-1960s, Collette was teaching in the Maastrichts Conservatorium as well (Van der Klis 1991, 118), the lone conservatory in Daniskas's survey that had had no Early Music offerings at that time.

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[34] Van der Klis notes that Brüggen actually received the Lyceum's second recorder diploma; the first student, Truus ten Cate-de Marée, who graduated a few months before Brüggen, later gave up the instrument.

[35] These dates were provided by Otten on his website. http://www.antenna.nl/kees.otten/biografie.html (Accessed 25 November 2004).

The first Conservatorium Einddiploma (also known as the C, or soloist diploma) in recorder was granted to Jeannette van Wingerden in the early 1960s; she was a student of Brüggen and Otten. Another Brüggen student, Elly Baghuis, had passed the A, B and C diplomas by 1963. The number of recorder graduates escalated soon thereafter: by 1975, eighty-seven diplomas had been granted, including eight soloist degrees (Luxemberger 1997, 212).

As for the harpsichord, Daniskas's 1959 survey indicates that Janny van Wering[36] was teaching in The Hague and Rotterdam, while Gustav Leonhardt was teaching in Utrecht and Amsterdam; Leonhardt was appointed Richard Boer's successor at the latter school in 1954 (Van der Klis 1991, 123, Schott 2001). Jaap Spigt (1923-1999), an early Dutch harpsichordist and former student of Van Wering and Richard Boer, was teaching in Tilburg and at the Amsterdam Muzieklyceum; Gusta Goldschmidt, a former Landowska student, was also on the faculty of the Lyceum. While none of the Dutch conservatories could be said to have an Early Music department per se, it was clear that interest in historical instruments was spreading and growing across the country. Because the Netherlands is such a small country, with extensive rail and road connections, it was convenient for teachers to hold positions at several conservatories and commute among them.

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[36] Van Wering (1909-2005), a former student of Pauline Aubert and Richard Boer in Amsterdam, was the recipient of the first Dutch diploma in harpsichord (Van der Klis 1991, 81).

Although official instruction on other historical instruments was not offered as of yet, two other Dutch Early Music pioneers were nevertheless influential pedagogues at the Dutch conservatories. Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp (1906-2000), who was on the faculty of The Hague, Amsterdam, and Utrecht Conservatoria, was a highly regarded modern cellist and pedagogue. He was an early performer on the viola da gamba,[37] and was very interested in historical bows and bowing techniques. In the 1950s, the flutist Frans Vester (1922-1987) was among the first modern performers to rediscover historical flutes. In addition to establishing and preserving an important instrument collection, Vester taught for many years, first at the Amsterdamsch Conservatorium and at the Muzieklyceum in the mid-1950s, and then at the Royal Conservatory in The Hague from 1961 to 1984. His ideas about Baroque and Classical performance practice influenced a number of his students, many of whom would go on to specialize on the traverso. These include Bart Kuijken, Marten Root, Marion Moonen, Janet See and Jane Bowers (Van Munster 1984, 18, 28).

Apart from their impact on professional conservatory training, the Ministerie's new exam and diploma regulations also had ramifications for music in the public school system. In 1947, with the founding of the Gehrelsinstituut (Gehrels Institute), this method, and the institute's certificates, became fully recognized by the state. With the reorganization of the public education system in the mid-1960s under the

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[37] See Chapter Five, 175.

Wet op het Voortgezet Onderwijs, the so-called Mammoetwet[38] (Secondary Education Act, or Mammoth law), Gehrels's methodology formed an important component of the school music curriculum (Pots 2002, 285).[39] As a result, the recorder became nearly ubiquitous in the public schools.

The government's ambitious educational reform plans, and its enormous financial investment in schools, universities and other institutions, were altogether remarkable in the postwar years. It reflected not merely an important part of the nation's reconstruction effort following the occupation and bombardments of World War II; indeed, the desire to organize a somewhat haphazard schooling system was only a partial explanation. Education—and music education in particular—formed an important part of the government's overall plan for social welfare and design. The Ministerie was greatly concerned with the problem of how to educate the growing population of school-aged children, a reflection of the Dutch baby boom that followed World War II.[40] Central to the government's purpose was the belief that the Dutch population needed to be protected from the negative influences of mass and popular culture (Holtkamp 1999, 205). Such an attitude frequently permeates the writings of Daniskas in his role as State Inspector for Music Education. Typical is the following passage from an article appearing in the June 1959 edition of *Canon*, an Australian music journal:

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[38] The Mammoetwet was actually a series of laws enacted between 1963 through 1968. The most important of these, the Secondary Education Act, took effect in August 1968 (Boon and Schrijnen-van Gastel 1981, 22).

[39] The influence of Carl Orff on Dutch music pedagogy seems to have been comparatively less strong than in Germany. Smit (1982) notes that while Orff instruments were well-known to Dutch schoolchildren, his instructional books were less frequently used. Pierre van Hauwe, the father of recorder soloist Walter van Hauwe, had studied with Orff and developed his own methodology (see Van Hauwe 1968). Pierre van Hauwe established the Stichting Orff Werkgroep Nederland (Netherlands Orff Workgroup Foundation), and his own music school in Delft.

[40] Just as in America, the terms "baby-boomer" or *babyboomer* are used by the Dutch; the latter expression is even defined in the major Dutch language dictionary, Van Dale.

> The so numerous and very different activities, especially after the last war, demonstrate the leading idea, that musical culture is not only an aesthetic speciality for the people who frequent the concerts and the opera, but also a fundamental medium for the harmonious and healthy development of the body, the soul and the spirit of the young people. It is the demonstration of the idea, that we, in our modern society with the danger of technical and materialistic domination, have to be alive to our responsibility to give every child a general musical education with the purposes:
>
> - to help it to develop its character and personality;
> - to give it the possibilities to enjoy its life by singing and music making;
> - to "open its ears" to the beauty of every kind of music from the western as well as from the eastern civilizations. (Daniskas 1959b, 344)

Here, music education is perceived as a wholesome antidote to, or shield from, the dual threats posed by rampant capitalism and the electronic age. A latent fear of economic and technological development might seem peculiar for a nation with a strong history of mercantilism and trade on the one hand, and which, on the other, was home to innovators in the scientific fields such as Royal Dutch/Shell and Philips. Still, the Netherlands was relatively late to industrialize, and many Dutch maintained a certain nostalgia for the country's traditional, agrarian way of life. In this article and other publications (e.g., Reeser [1959]) destined for circulation abroad, the Ministerie and its representatives promoted the dual image of the Netherlands as at once socially conscious and morally upright, but also progressive in its embracement of new ideas about pedagogy and education.

Daniskas also indicated that a novel kind of music teacher was required to carry out the new purposes of the state. As he put it, "the re-organisation of our professional training, especially for music teachers, demonstrates the fact that for the realization of those educational ideas it is necessary to create a new training, that prepares the future teacher in a new spirit" (1959b, 344). Along with the musical skills essential to their profession, teachers were to be thoroughly trained in "pedagogics", and "child psychology and psychology of adolescents" (*ibid.*, 347)—both very modern concepts about education and child development.[41] Such music educators would not operate on the fringe of society; rather, they were "very real and necessary workers, being able to build up a strong and healthy new generation of mankind" (*ibid.*, 348).

Moreover, these new music teachers were not to be accessible only to the children of elite and wealthy parents. The government subsidization of the music schools—at the federal, provincial and municipal levels—and grants available to talented students ensured that even those families with modest incomes could afford lessons:

> The fees vary considerably at these schools, all systems being used. In general, it may be said that they are within the means of those with small incomes. A strong social purpose is followed in this respect. (Daniskas [1959a], 135)

Music lessons became a ticket to increased social status; in other words, they were a means of equalizing the opportunities afforded to the middle and working classes. Thus, with the passing of the educational reforms of the Mammoetwet, the Calvinist-socialist ideals of Gerardus van der Leeuw, the first postwar Minister of OKW,[42] were fully realized some twenty years after his death (Pots 2002, 285).

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[41] Indeed, they are reminiscent of the writings of Dr. Benjamin Spock and Jean Piaget on the cognitive and emotional development of children. Their works were available at this time in the Netherlands, and published in Dutch translation.

The Mammoetwet and Its Repercussions: Music Education as Social Welfare Policy

The federal government underwent an important process of restructuring during the mid-1960s which would profoundly effect both amateur and professional arts education. Under a ministerial reorganization, the culture docket was transferred from the Ministerie van OKW to a newly-created Ministerie van Cultuur, Recreatie en Maatschappelijk Werk (CRM, or Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work) in 1965.[43] This seemingly mundane act would be a watershed in the evolution of the Dutch welfare state philosophy. As the authors of *Cultural Policy in the Netherlands*, a document published by the Ministerie van OCenW, observed recently,

> The establishment of the Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work in 1965 marked a turning point in the way 'welfare' and welfare policy were perceived. Until then welfare policy had largely been corrective in nature, the aim being to counteract imbalances within society; during the sixties the aim of welfare policy increasingly became to prevent such imbalances occurring in the first place. (MinOCenW 2003a, 191)

At the same time, arts education did not form a part of the Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen (O en W, or Ministry of Education and Sciences, i.e., the remainder of the former Ministerie van OKW). Rather, it shifted to the Ministerie van CRM along with culture (Boon and Schrijnen-van Gastel 1981, 20-1). This meant that arts policy—and both professional and amateur arts education—were now closely linked with social welfare policy. The CRM was now responsible for the management of music education, and all the conservatories, lycea and music schools with professional training—a total of fifteen schools—came under its administration. Moreover, for the first time, postsecondary music education would be financed by the federal government (Boon and Schrijnen-van Gastel 1981, 21-2).

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[42] For a detailed treatment of Van der Leeuw's philosophy and policies, see Chapter Five, pp. 200-202.
[43] See note 20 above.

This ministerial structure was only temporary, however. With the passing of the Overgangswet Wet op het voortgezet onderwijs (Interim Secondary Education Act) in 1967, professional arts schools would be shifted from the Ministerie van CRM back to the Ministerie van O en W. There, a separate department was established specifically for arts education (Van Wolferen 1967; Boon and Schrijnen-van Gastel 1981, 22). Music education policies nevertheless continued to be heavily influenced by social welfare ideals in the 1970s at both the professional and recreational levels. Such principles included a rejection of elitism, an advocacy of *cultuurspreiding*, or the spreading of access to the arts in the northern and eastern regions of the country, and an emphasis on cultural participation for all levels of society. Because all conservatories and academies were considered to be of equal importance, they were to receive commensurate funding, and the salaries of the teaching faculty would be standardized (Luxemberger 1997, 133-4).

Both the ministries of CRM and O en W would continue to work closely together, as cultural policy was now split between them. While higher music education now fell within the domain of the Education Ministry, *amateurkunst en* *kunstzinnige vorming* (AKKV, or amateur arts and arts education) remained with the Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work. Thus, the Ministerie van CRM still set the policy for all music programs taught outside of school hours—in other words, the muziekscholen, where both recreational and pre-professional training for young musicians was offered (Pots 2002, 316, 545 n.133). CRM also supported some special projects within the conservatories, such as the financing of the Royal Conservatory's new building in the late 1970s. This was despite the objections of the Ministerie van O en W, which sought to diffuse the Royal Conservatory's power as *the* state institution for musical training, and which felt that no one music conservatory was more entitled to a new facility than any other (Van Vlijmen 2001, 10).

This policy of providing equal access to music education was most clearly evidenced by the Ministerie van CRM's prioritization—and generous funding—of AKKV. In 1979, this amateur arts program was included in the federal Kaderwet specifiek welzijn (Framework act for specific welfare policy) (Pots 2002, 317). Between 1972 and 1982, federal funds for community music schools swelled from 2.6 to 16.7 million guilders; provincial and municipal subsidies rose from 3.7 to 21.7 million, and 55.3 to 243.4 million guilders respectively. This subsidization made the establishment of dozens of new music schools possible, particularly in the northern, southern and eastern parts of the country. In 1965, there were 72 muziekscholen; by 1982, there were 165, with some 310,000 students (Pots 2002, 317).

This period of growth and expansion in amateur arts and music education was also reflected at the postsecondary level. From 1960 to 1973, a series of commissions known as the Lochemse Werkgroep Muziekonderwijs (Lochem Music Education Workgroup, named after the place in which they were held) met to discuss the proposed changes to professional arts education under the Mammoetwet (Luxemberger 1997, 132-3; Boon and Schrijnen-van Gastel 1981, 22). Undertaken by the Inspector-General of Education, Max Goote, the Lochemse Werkgroepen were made up of directors and teachers from conservatories, professional musicians and educators.[44] Among the topics discussed were the conservatory degree structures, admissions and examination criteria, federal subsidization of music schools, and teacher salaries (Luxemberger 1997, 133). A number of their recommendations were taken into account in the Mammoetwet legislation and its subsequent amendments.

When the Wet op het voortgezet onderwijs was finally passed in August 1968, the institutes of higher professional education, such as trade and art schools, business programs, and other practical forms of training were also affected. These institutions were reformed and renamed Hoger Beroepsonderwijs (HBO) or *hogescholen*, the institutes of higher professional education (Eurydice 2001/2002, 6.1).[45] The universities, with the primary goal of carrying out scholarly and scientific research, would be part of a separate track called *wetenschappelijk onderwijs*, or WO. This meant that musicology, as part of the university system, was managed by the

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[44] Similar workgroups were set up for education experts in other areas, such as drama and the visual arts.

[45] This is mentioned here because the Dutch conservatories would eventually become departments of the HBOs in the 1980s.

Ministerie van O en W; music performance, as part of the conservatory system, continued to be managed by a separate arts education department within this ministry.

With the 1973 elections, the Labour (PvdA) party came into power, and Prime Minister Joop den Uyl (1919-1987) continued on a track similar to his predecessors. The Den Uyl cabinet (1973-1977) was the most socially progressive in Dutch political history, marked by an enormous increase in public spending on social programs. During this period, a number of further refinements were made to the Mammoetwet which had important implications for postsecondary, professional education. Based on the recommendations of the Lochem Group, the music education system was simplified in 1973, which reduced the number of different institutions offering musical training to two: the conservatorium, and the muziekpedagogische akademie (academy for music pedagogy), or MPA. The latter schools would offer either the A or B teaching diplomas, or both; the conservatories would continue to offer all three degrees, i.e., the A, B and C or soloist diploma (Luxemberger 1997, 134).[46]

The Lochem Group also recommended that the distinctions between the A and B diplomas be eliminated, given that the course requirements and length of training time (5 years) was the same; the only difference had been in performance skills and technical ability (Boon and Schrijnen-van Gastel 1981, 41-2). This advice was not put in practice until the early 1980s, however, when the A and B diplomas were condensed into a single *Docerend Musicus* ("teaching musician") or DM degree; the

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[46] A similar institutional division exists in Germany between music colleges, where professional performers are trained, and conservatories, which train teachers (see Rohlfs 1997).

C diploma became known as the *Uitvoerend Musicus* ("performing musician") or UM degree.

As a result of this restructuring, the number of conservatories in the Netherlands increased from eight in 1970 to eleven by 1973 (Paap 1970, 54; 1973).[47] Muzieklycea in Groningen, Zwolle, Arnhem and Enschede, which had previously only offered teaching diplomas, were now were elevated to conservatory status and entitled to grant soloist diplomas as well (see Appendix 2). This decision was made in spite of the objections of Jan van Vlijmen, director of the Koninklijk Conservatorium in The Hague, who argued during the Lochem meetings that there should only be two top institutes for higher musical education (Van Vlijmen 2001, 12).[48] However, because the federal government was prioritizing *regionalisatie*, or an egalitarian spread of cultural institutions and postsecondary education throughout the country, Van Vlijmen's concerns went unheeded. Additionally, two muziekscholen met vakopleiding in Leeuwarden and Hilversum, as well as a newly-developed school in Alkmaar, were designated MPAs. The "conservatory department" at the Haarlems Muzieklyceum and two independent institutions, the Nederlandse Beiaardschool (Dutch Carillon School) in Amersfoort and the Nederlands Instituut voor Katholieke Kerkmuziek (Dutch Institute for Catholic Church Music) in Utrecht brought the total number of postsecondary music schools to seventeen—an astounding number for such a small country. What is more, according to the precedent established by the former prime minister Cals (1965-66) and his minister of finance Vondeling,[49] the conservatories and MPAs were legally entitled to equal means and funding levels (Legêne 1980b, 76).

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[47] Van Putten (1993) gives the date of conversion from Muzieklyceum to Conservatorium as 1971, which seems to contradict with Paap (1973).

[48] *In het overleg over het kunstonderwijs, dat plaatsvond in Lochem en dat diende om de regering te adviseren, heb ik een plan ingediend voor een drastische reorganisatie van het muziekvakonderwijs: er zouden maar twee topinstituten moeten zijn in Nederland.*

Music Education in the 1970s: The Rise of Historical Performance

As the number of conservatory programs grew in the 1970s, important developments also occurred in the curriculum. In addition to changes to the degree system and the increased availability of music instruction to all regions of the Netherlands, new instruments were added to the conservatories' roster. Following the recorder's trailblazing path to accreditation were the accordion, guitar, bass clarinet, saxophone, and eventually even the panpipes (Van der Elst 1985). Such "folk" or "popular" instruments were being taught in the community music schools which, as noted above, were experiencing exponential growth. There was thus a need for skilled instructors; there were likewise students who sought to develop their skills at a higher level. Even more remarkable, contemporary Dutch composers were beginning to write music for instruments and voices long ignored by mainstream classical culture. In the wake of the *Notenkrakersactie*, many composers, like Louis Andriessen, rejected the idea of writing for the symphony or its traditional instrumentarium. Seen in this context, then, the addition of historical instruments to this list is hardly surprising. Early Music ensembles, recorder consorts and the like, with their emphasis on group music-making and a rejection of a 19th-century valuing of virtuosity for its own sake, nicely corresponded to the socialist ideal of "*democratisering*" (democratization) and social relevance.

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[49] Cals, as minister of education from 1952-63, was one of the principal architects of the Mammoetwet; Vondeling, a Frisian, had a vested interest in protecting the interests of the provinces lying outside the *randstad*.

Nowhere were the curriculum changes more radical than at the once-staid Royal Conservatory in The Hague, where the appointment of a new director in 1971 led to a major rethinking of the traditional conservatory education. Jan van Vlijmen (1935-2004), a composer, pianist and associate of the *Notenkrakers*, was up to that point the youngest person ever to occupy this position.[50] Van Vlijmen had been named adjunct director in 1967, but effectively took over the directorship in 1968 after the prolonged illness of Kees van Baaren (Kasander 2001, 64).

Van Vlijmen, as a composer, had already attracted considerable public attention and notoriety with such works as his *Interpolations* and the opera *Reconstructie*, which premiered at the 1969 Holland Festival. As an administrator, he quickly established his reputation as a reformer and mover-and-shaker. The Hague had recently lost its exclusive status as Rijks Instituut (state institution), given the new Ministerie van O en W regulations which provided equal financial support to all conservatories. As such, Van Vlijmen sought to create a new identity for the Royal Conservatory that would distinguish it from its counterparts elsewhere in the country. John Kasander described Van Vlijmen's 1970 curriculum plan as follows:

> [There] it was said that education can only function well if it is possible to link up with experiments going on outside the conservatory in art and arts pedagogy. To this end, the conservatory must become an open meeting and

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[50] See Chapter Five, p. 215. Van Vlijmen was not at the protest itself, but was associated with *Notenkrakers* Louis Andriessen, Peter Schat, Misha Mengelberg and Reinbert de Leeuw, with whom he had collaborated on the opera *Reconstructie*.

> discussion centre wherein a continuing confrontation with the outside world is of central importance. The conservatory cannot take a position of isolation, nor can it become a symbol of consolidation and fossilization.[51] (Kasander 2001, 65)

Among the changes instituted by Van Vlijmen were reforms to the theory curriculum, increased support for composition and contemporary music, the opening of the first electronic studio in the Netherlands, and the foundation of the Royal Dutch Ballet School within the conservatory (Kasander 2001, 60, 68, 76-8).

Other developments, however, occurred within the realm of "conventional" classical music. Van Vlijmen noted in a 1972 interview[52] that most of his students were no longer interested in obtaining soloist diplomas; the vast majority of Royal Conservatory graduates had pursued a pedagogy curriculum. Those that were interested in a performance career were choosing to form chamber music ensembles, rather than seeking an orchestral chair. He had also observed an increased interest in performing early music, particularly on historical instruments. "What is striking," he noted, "is that most of the impulse regarding early music performance comes from the students themselves."[53] Van Vlijmen, too, was more fascinated with earlier music than the standard orchestral repertoire, and found the music of Gesualdo inspiring for his own compositional activities (Kasander 2001, 65).[54]

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[51] *Verder wordt gezegd dat het onderwijs alleen dan goed kan functioneren als het mogelijk is met experimenten in te haken op wat buiten het conservatorium in kunst en kunstpedagogie gebeurt. Daartoe moet het conservatorium een open ontmoetings- en discussiecentrum worden waarbij een voortdurende confrontatie met de buitenwereld centraal staat. Het conservatorium mag geen geïsoleerde positie innemen en geen symbool zijn van consolidatie en verstarring.*

[52] This interview, which appeared in the *NRC Handelsblad*, was paraphrased by Kasander (2001, 66-7); no complete citation was given.

[53] *Maar het frappante is toch wel, dat de meeste impulsen ten aanzien van die oude muziekpraktijk van de leerlingen komen.*

[54] His *Omaggio a Gesualdo* (1971) is one of his better-known compositions.

Although classes in Baroque chamber music had been offered since 1947 by Janny van Wering and Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp, and by Frans Brüggen in 1959, most students were continuing to play this repertoire on modern instruments.[55] Lucy van Dael was the first graduate of the Royal Conservatory to perform on both modern and Baroque violin in her final exam (ca. 1968). She did so with the aid and encouragement of Van Leeuwen Boomkamp, who provided her with an original bow, and Marie Leonhardt (Van Dael 2004). It was likewise in the late 1960s that professional recorder players shifted from using mass-produced or modern-pitched models and "German" or "English" fingering systems, towards instruments more closely copied after surviving original models (O'Kelly 1990, 32-33).[56]

As a result of the increased student interest in historical performance, Van Vlijmen made a series of key hiring decisions in the early 1970s that would broaden the Conservatorium's offerings beyond the harpsichord and the recorder. Sigiswald Kuijken was added to the faculty in 1971 at Brüggen's request to teach a class in Baroque violin. From the beginning, there were already some fifteen violin students enrolled, and Van Dael was also hired as an instructor. Van Dael taught there for nearly twenty years. Both Kuijken and Van Dael had been experimenting around 1969-1970 with removing chin and shoulder rests from their instruments, and off-the-chin playing (Van Dael 2004; Kuijken 2001, Van der Klis 1991, 159-162). The establishment of the Baroque violin class in The Hague provided the fledgling program in historical performance with a core contingent of period-instrument string players. Kuijken's approach to playing—and holding—the violin became so influential that none other than Marie Leonhardt proclaimed that "The Dutch Baroque violin school became entirely the school of Sigiswald"[57]—a particularly ironic statement, considering that Kuijken was himself Belgian!

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[55] See Kasander 2001, 71.

[56] Some of these "modern" recorders continued to be used for pedagogical purposes. There have also been attempts by recorder manufacturers to develop instruments primarily for contemporary music use, such as the Paetzold contrabass recorder (O'Kelly 1990, 35-36; 80-81).

The following year, Van Vlijmen invited Nikolaus Harnoncourt to direct a student Monteverdi project, which was both enormously successful and highly influential (Kasander 2001, 72-3). Harnoncourt returned in 1975 to lead a major Bach project, which was held in conjunction with Utrecht University's Instituut voor Muziekwetenschap (Institute for Musicology). As Jan Kleinbussinck, one of the project participants—and the current director of the Early Music department—observed, Van Vlijmen had found in Harnoncourt exactly the right person to direct these student projects. He recalled sitting in Harnoncourt's lectures on performance practice with a tape recorder, and noted that he still had these recordings; they would form the basis of Harnoncourt's well-known essay collections (e.g., Harnoncourt 1988, 1989). Van Vlijmen had succeeded in concentrating an enormous number of teachers in one project, and "also found the money." These "mega projects" involved the entire conservatory, and effectively combined theory and praxis (Kleinbussinck 2004). Other, smaller-scale projects were also held on occasion. In the early part of 1969, the ensemble Quadro Hotteterre (recorder players Kees Boeke and Walter van Hauwe, cellist Wouter Möller and harpsichordist Bob van Asperen) performed a student demonstration recital employing both modern and low pitches (Kasander 2001, 74). The pitch of 415hz, now considered the "modern" pitch standard for Baroque performance practice, was adopted by the Conservatorium soon after.[58]

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[57] *De Nederlandse barokvioolschool is helemaal de school van Sigiswald geworden* (Marie Leonhardt, cited in Van der Klis 1991, 155).

Many of the guest teachers involved in the Early Music projects were later added to the Conservatorium's faculty. Sigiswald's brother Wieland was added as viola da gamba instructor in 1972 after assisting with the Monteverdi project, and younger brother Bart joined soon after to teach historical flutes. Marius van Altena, who had launched his career with Kees Otten's Renaissance and Medieval ensemble Syntagma Musicum,[59] also worked on the Monteverdi project, and was added to the faculty to teach Early Music singing (Van Altena 2001, 64). By 1976, lessons were available on Baroque cello (with Anner Bijlsma replacing his teacher Van Leeuwen Boomkamp), Baroque oboe, Baroque trumpet, lute, and Medieval instruments, and plans were being made to add fortepiano as well (Kasander 2001, 71; Van der Klis 1991, 177). The Early Music department had become a reality.

The success of the Royal Conservatory's Monteverdi and Bach projects had implications beyond the Early Music world. Van Vlijmen saw the advantages of having students focus their work on a particular repertoire for a discrete time period, and the motivation inspired by visiting conductors and scholars brought in from "the real world" outside the conservatory. As a result, he applied the same concept to contemporary music, for example by inviting guest composers such as Karlheinz Stockhausen to work with students on a project basis. What is more, Van Vlijmen also reorganized the Conservatorium's student orchestra—the pillar of the Classical music department—in a similar fashion. Because so many students were missing rehearsals, he changed the schedule format from twice-weekly sessions to several projects per year with rotating conductors (Van Vlijmen 2001, 11; Kasander 2001, 60). This would have broad implications for how all future Dutch conservatory students would receive their training in orchestral performance. This system is now used in most (if not all) of the Netherlands' conservatoria to this day. Even professional orchestras—both modern-instrument and period-instrument—are now working in this manner because it saves on rehearsal costs and because it allows for greater flexibility of repertoire and personnel.

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[58] Martin Elste (2000, 34) credits August Wenzinger with the first use of A-415 in 1940.

[59] This ensemble, the successor to Muziekkring Obrecht, was in existence from 1963 to 1987 (Van der Klis 1991, 118, 149).

In Amsterdam, most of the Early Music activities centered around the teaching of Gustav Leonhardt. Veronika Hampe assisted Leonhardt's students with lessons in basso continuo realization, and also taught viola da gamba. Both were involved in chamber music coaching, as was Lucy van Dael, who had begun teaching in Amsterdam from the very beginning of her professional career, at the age of 23 (Van Dael 2004). Anner Bijlsma taught cello in Amsterdam as well as in The Hague. Other important teachers in Amsterdam have included Leonhardt's students, harpsichordists Anneke Uittenbosch and Ton Koopman (who left Amsterdam for The Hague in 1988), violinist Jaap Schröder (1925-), and lutenist Anthony Bailes (a student of Gusta Goldschmidt), who began teaching there in the late 1970s.

One of Frans Brüggen's most promising students, Walter van Hauwe, joined the Amsterdams Conservatorium faculty in 1971. There, he taught jointly with Kees

Boeke, another Brüggen student, for many years. By 1975 or 1976, he had as many as 25 or 30 students in his studio, which necessitated the creation of a new teaching system. Van Hauwe organized his classes in one-week teaching sessions each month, which became known as the Blokfluit Blok.[60] Each student received one lesson per Blok in a public, master class format; the other students were expected to sit in and learn from their colleagues' lessons, in addition to lectures given by the teachers and fellow students. In this way, he sought to foster their independence, in the same manner as other artists, such as painters and sculptors; he wanted to avoid the "cloning [of] opinions" from the teacher. Other Early Music teachers in the Conservatorium soon adapted this teaching system to their own studios (Van Hauwe 2004).[61]

Early music departments began to flourish elsewhere in the Netherlands as well. Around 1970, Gusta Goldschmidt began a lute class at the Muzieklyceum in Amsterdam (Van der Klis 1991, 144). Ton Koopman began teaching at the Zwolle Muzieklyceum at the age of 22, when he was still a student.[62] Shortly thereafter, he was added to the faculty at Groningen and Maastricht, and eventually he began teaching at the Amsterdam Muzieklyceum and the Rotterdams Conservatorium as well (Koopman 2004). In Rotterdam, along with the recorder and harpsichord, it was also possible to study Baroque violin with Marie Leonhardt (2001). Utrecht developed into a major centre of recorder teaching. Indeed, by 1980, it was possible to study the recorder at thirteen different Dutch conservatories and muzieklycea (Luxemberger 1997, 218-9).

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[60] This is a pun on the Dutch term for recorder, *blokfluit*, and the term blok, which refers to both the instrument's whistle mouthpiece, and a period of time (block).

[61] One of the reasons for the adoption of group lessons was probably budgetary, however. See note 69 below.

[62] Presumably, 1966 or 67.

Statistics from the 1977-78 academic year provided by Boon and Schrijnen-van Gastel (1981, 70) give some insight into the demographic makeup of the Early Music programs in the Dutch conservatories at this time (see Appendix 3). Of some 4,776 total students,[63] a remarkable 221 were enrolled in recorder studies, making it the sixth most popular instrument after piano, guitar, organ, violin and flute. The recorder departments had a curiously lopsided gender ratio in favour of women (69%, or 153) to men (31%, or 68). This is almost a reverse of the conservatory student body average, which was 61% male to 39% female. The next most popular historical instrument was the harpsichord, with 77 students (with 44, the women slightly outnumbered the men).[64] An additional 20 students were studying lute (nearly all men, following a similar ratio to the guitar), with ten studying viol and five studying traverso. In nearly all instruments for which data was provided, women slightly outnumbered men in the Early Music subjects. Enrolment figures for the other stringed instruments were unfortunately not differentiated between Baroque and modern instruments, and some categories of study probably overlapped with figures for "voice" and "other" or "special study". Still, the inflated figures for recorder students might have been of some concern to the Ministerie van O en W, given the crowded marketplace facing graduates with either soloist or education diplomas.[65]

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[63] A total of 5,450 students are listed "with duplications", implying that some students followed a double major.

[64] Despite this, Thérèse de Goede-Klinkhamer noted that as a harpsichord student in Amsterdam in the mid-1970s, she felt a gender bias in favour of the male students in her class (personal interview, 2000).

1976-1982: Cracks in the Foundation

By the mid-1970s, the Dutch conservatories were already beginning to show signs of major financial problems. The federal government was simply not able to sustain the enormous costs involved in financing its ambitious social programs, and critics charged that the large number of music schools and conservatories was redundant and inefficient. In 1976, the Amsterdam Muzieklyceum's director, Everard van Royen, chose to take early retirement after a prolonged illness and the State Secretary of Education, Gerrit Klein, made it clear that the Lyceum had no place in his future policy plans (Van Hasselt 1976). As a result, three schools—the Muzieklyceum, the Afdeling Conservatorium van de Muziekschool Haarlem (conservatory department of the Haarlem music school) and the Amsterdams Conservatorium—were forced to merge (Holtkamp 1999, 206).[66] Van Royen, the husband of harpsichordist/lutenist Gusta Goldschmidt, had been the Lyceum's director since 1953, and he was instrumental in developing the school's Early Music programs. The merger with the Amsterdams Conservatorium meant that the historical performance faculty at both schools would be combined. The new institution was renamed the Sweelinck Conservatorium, naturally after the Netherlands' most famous Baroque composer.

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[65] This was an issue already raised several years earlier by Schulte (1971).

[66] Van der Klis (1991, 145) gives the merger date as 1967, but Van der Veen and Giskes (2000), Schuijer (1997) and the present-day Conservatorium van Amsterdam's website confirm the merger date as 1976 (http://www.conservatoriumvanamsterdam.nl/EN/01_algemeen/01_organisatie/02_geschiedenis/index.jsp , accessed 6 December 2004).

After the 1977 elections, and a long period of cabinet formation, Dries van Agt, a Christian Democrat, was chosen to succeed Den Uyl as prime minister.[67] Van Agt took power during a period of rising unemployment, political instability, and a growing public sense of dissatisfaction with the state of the economy. Van Agt's Minister of O en W in his first cabinet (1977-81) was Arie Pais, who would be the first post-war Liberal (VVD) education minister. Pais distanced himself from the socialist policies of his predecessor Jos Kemenade (PvdA) and sought to instigate a period of reform.

Pais's plans for restructuring arts education became known as the *zwaartepuntennota* or the *zwaartepuntenbeleid* (policy points of emphasis). Despite the Sweelinck Conservatorium merger, there still remained thirteen conservatories and two specialized music institutes, which was widely regarded to be far too many, even by the conservatory directors themselves (see Appendix 2). Pais proposed that the conservatories ought to concentrate their faculties and specialize in certain areas, such as music therapy (Groningen),[68] Early Music (The Hague), electronic music (The Hague or Utrecht), opera (Amsterdam and The Hague), and orchestral training

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[67] This was despite the fact that the PvdA experienced a net gain of ten seats in this election. Nevertheless, an attempt to form a second administration with Den Uyl as prime minister failed.

[68] This program does not seem to have materialized, however. The Stichting Muziektherapie (Dutch association for music therapy) lists training programs in Nijmegen, Utrecht, Sittard and Enschede, but not Groningen. See http://www.stichtingmuziektherapie.nl/links/opleiding_nederland.htm, accessed 15 May 2005.

(possibly The Hague). No school wanted to cut back on its own programs voluntarily, however; each of the directors made a case that their conservatory had an essential program or played a key role in the musical life of its province. Still, Pais scaled back teaching hours as part of a series of cutbacks: the Utrecht conservatorium was cut by 160 hours per week, while Maastricht was cut by 204 (Legêne 1979a, 145; 1979b, 201). As a result, some teachers turned to group lessons as a means to reduce costs while retaining the current admissions levels (Legêne 1979, 145-6); indeed, this seems to have been the strategy for the recorder class in Amsterdam, one which was eventually adopted by other Early Music teachers in the same institution.[69] In any case, juggling budget cuts with rising student enrolments proved an unwelcome challenge for conservatory administrators. A series of interviews published in *Mens en Melodie* affirmed the resignation of three directors in 1979: Willem Goedhart (Groningen), Willem Hijstek (Maastricht) and Johan van den Boogert (Utrecht); there were further suggestions that a fourth—Jan van Vlijmen—would follow suit (Legêne 1979a, 1979b, 1980b).[70]

Nevertheless, despite these objections, Pais continued on his campaign of cutbacks. He announced plans to restrict orchestral training to a maximum of four conservatories (Amsterdam, The Hague, plus one school in the north or east, and one in the south), and to make Amsterdam a centre for electronic music and The Hague a centre for historical performance. Furthermore, he suggested that the study period should be limited to four years (instead of the then-current five-to-six years allotted), with a limited number of schools designated to hold special "postdoctoral" programs for advanced study. Additionally, the Prijs van Uitnemendheid was to be replaced by a national Nederlandse Muziekprijs for which all music students could compete (*Mens en Melodie* 1981). The new prize would take the decision for awarding the most prestigious honor away from the individual conservatories themselves; there had been a sense that the Prijs van Uitnemendheid was being granted so often that it had become devalued.

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[69] See p. 356 above.
[70] Van Vlijmen did not, however, resign until 1985.

With the exception of the Nederlandse Muziekprijs, most of Pais's plans were successfully resisted by the conservatories, at least in the beginning. Indeed, the situation devolved into an ugly turf war which has continued even to the present date. The conservatories were intimately tied into a longstanding political battle over the rights of the regions to have autonomy and equity with the *randstad*. Thus, Hijstek withstood the attempt to close the Maastricht opera academy by arguing for its international reputation; plans to bring about a cooperative agreement between Hilversum and Utrecht fell through (Legêne 1980b, 76).

Still, despite the atmosphere of fiscal restraint, a new "monster building" was built in The Hague to house the new conservatory. The Royal Conservatory also acquired the *Instituut voor Sonologie* (Institute for Sonology), the Netherlands' first electroacoustic lab, which was moved from Utrecht University to The Hague in 1983.[71] This provoked much anger and jealousy on behalf of the other conservatory directors, who suspected that Van Vlijmen "wanted everything" (i.e., all the specialized music subjects) housed in his new mega-conservatory, and charged that he was the principal author of Pais's agenda (Legêne 1980b, 78; 1980a, 104). In turn, Van Vlijmen and Ton Hartsuiker, the new director of the Utrecht conservatory, accused the other schools of lowering entrance standards, which could hardly be uniform amongst so many independently-operating institutions (Legêne 1980b, 103), and even of swelling enrolment figures to avoid being closed by the government (Brandt 1986, 235-7).

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[71] Since 1960, the Institute for Sonology had housed Philips's original Natuurkundig Laboratorium (a.k.a. the Nat-lab) which was moved from Eindhoven to Utrecht. The Nat-lab was of some historical importance: it was on this very same equipment that Edgard Varèse composed his *Poème electronique* in 1957.

In any case, the chances were that with so many conservatories, even the weakest auditioning student would get in *somewhere*. Therein lay the crux of the problem, which had come to a head by the late 1970s: the 19th-century conception of a conservatory as a place for only the most talented and virtuosic students—and which, by its very definition, was hierarchical and selective—was entirely at odds with the values of a Dutch socialist/Calvinist approach to education, one that promoted a democratic and equal access to music instruction for all. A Paris Conservatoire-type system was unpalatable to the Dutch, but at the same time the network of (theoretically equivalent) conservatories they *had* developed in the Netherlands was economically unsustainable.

As for historical performance, at this point its status in the Dutch conservatories was not yet threatened. While Pais recommended that The Hague should become the centre of Early Music instruction, this was not put into practice. The presence of Gustav Leonhardt lent prestige to the department at the Sweelinck

Conservatorium in Amsterdam and provided strong competition to the program in The Hague. Elsewhere, the recorder continued to play an essential role, particularly in the schoolmuziek programs. Still, critics such as Legêne found it absurd that the conservatories expanded their offerings solely in an attempt to one-up each other:

> One [conservatory] would not be outdone by the other, they swooped down on the fad of the day and came up with electronic studios where a handful of eccentrics can inbreed, or a Baroque department where the few experts of our country travel specially to educate one man and a half and a horse head,[72] while not realizing that a strong centralization of their activities in, for example, one or two institutions, would do their profession no harm.[73] (Legêne 1980b, 76)

Such concerns went unheeded, however, as Early Music was only just reaching the height of its popularity and commercial success.

1982-1989: Retrenchment in the Conservatoria

Following political instability of the late 1970s and early 1980s,[74] Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers came into power in 1982 with a political platform emphasizing fiscal restraint. Major cutbacks were proposed to scale back the social welfare state in order to reduce the national deficit and stimulate the stagnant economy. Likewise, the higher education system was also affected, and once again, the new administration brought about a ministerial restructuring. In November of 1982, the federal culture docket was shifted from the former Ministerie van Cultuur, Recreatie en Maatschappelijk Werk (Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work) to the newly-created Ministerie van Welzijn, Volksgezondheid en Cultuur (WVC, or Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs) (MinOCenW 2003a, 178). As the title of the ministry indicates, the arts continued to be closely associated with social welfare planning. However, the Lubbers administration, and its Minister of WVC, Elco Brinkman, nevertheless began a change of tack in their cultural policies. Gone from ministerial statements and guidelines were such concepts as "*democratisering*" (democratizing) and "*cultuurspreiding*" (cultural spreading) to all regions of the country. As Holtkamp (1999, 206) put it, "Minister Brinkman of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs set a knife in the budget. Quality became the buzzword and art once again had to prove itself [relevant to society]."[75]

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[72] A typically Dutch expression, meaning, in other words, a small audience of only one or two students.

[73] *De een wilde voor de ander niet onder doen, men stortte zich op de mode van de dag en kwam met elektronische studio's waar een handjevol excentrieken zich aan een inteeltproces kon overgeven, of en barokafdeling waar de enkele experts die ons land toen op dit gebied telde, speciaal naartoe reisden om er anderhalve man en een paardekop te onderwijzen, niet beseffend dat een sterke centralisatie van hun activiteiten in bijvoorbeeld een of tween instituten, hun professie bepaalde geen kwaad zou doen.*

[74] Under Prime Minister Dries van Agt, there were three successive elections and cabinet formations between 1977 and 1982.

While Pais's attempts at fiscal reform met with little success, it was simply undeniable by the early 1980s that the state of higher education in the arts was at a crisis point. The increased number of conservatories in the Netherlands, coupled with the heavy promotion of arts and music education as a recreational pursuit, had an astronomical affect on postsecondary enrolment. Between 1970 and 1985, the number of arts students doubled from about 9,500 to some 20,000 (see Figure 5 below). Pais's successor as Minister of O en W, Wim Deetman, likewise tried to reduce not only the number of music students, but to cut back arts postsecondary education as a whole. Both were unsuccessful, as the institutions successfully blocked them. While the number of institutions remained constant, however, the number of students did eventually stabilize between 1987 and 1992 at around 21,000 students (Pots 2002, 343, 551 n.69).

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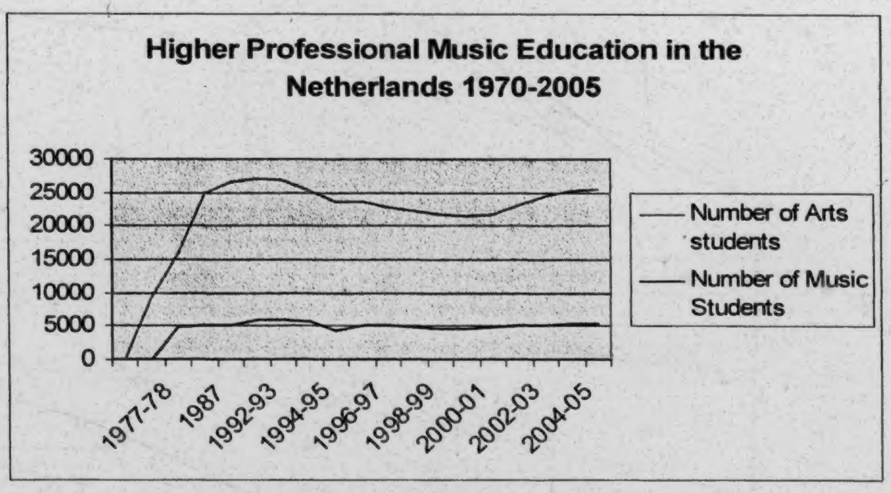
[75] *Minister Brinkman van Welzijn, Volksgezondheid en cultuur zette het mes in de begroting. Kwaliteit werd het motto en kunst moest zichzelf weer waarmaken.*

FIGURE 5[76]



What is curious is that the fiscal reforms undertaken elsewhere by the Lubbers administration—even to the arts and culture budget—had such mixed results in the education sector. Indeed, in the mid-1980s, there even appeared to be a certain amount of expansion occurring in music education. Not long after the opening of Koninklijk Conservatorium's new building, two other schools, the Sweelinck Conservatorium and the Twents Conservatorium in Enschede, moved into new facilities.[77] A larger and more modern building was certainly an important strategy to give one conservatory an edge over the others. Even more surprising, the three Muziekpedagogische academies were promoted to full-fledged conservatories by 1986, bringing the total number back up to thirteen (Brandt 1986, 237).[78] This meant that *all* of these institutions were entitled to grant the more prestigious UM (soloist's diploma) in addition to the pedagogical DM degrees.

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[76] Sources: Pots 2002, Boon & Schrijnen-van Gastel 1981, CBS.

Ironically, the law which granted the MPAs the right to full conservatory status was part of an attempt to *reduce* the overall number of conservatories. Deetman's so-called *STC-operatie* (*Schaalvergroting, taakverdeling en concentratie*, or "scaling up, task distribution and concentration operation") of 1983 had as its goal the reorganization of higher professional education. As part of the Lubbers cabinet's broader efficiency plans, the idea of the STC operation was to reduce the number of hogescholen, or HBOs, from nearly 400 to 57 by 1989 (Onderwijsraad 2004, 64).[79] The goal was to reduce inefficiency by having institutions share financial and administrative personnel (41). The conservatories, for example, were to form clusters with other arts institutes. As such, the MPAs and conservatories were granted equivalent status as part of this eventual merger process with other HBOs. However, because the minister had stated that institutions with an enrolment of less than 600 students would be shut down, the smaller conservatories sought to increase their admissions numbers to avoid falling below this critical number. According to Hartsuiker, director of the Utrechts Conservatorium, the relative selectivity or overall quality of an institution was not taken into account, such that a mediocre conservatory with a large student body could be deemed more essential to the ministry than a more selective one such as The Hague (Brandt 1986, 232, 235-8).

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[77] The Twents Conservatorium moved into a new facility built to house the music school, a concert hall for opera and orchestral performances, and a dance school in 1988 (See *Mens en Melodie* 14, no. 4: 201). The Sweelinck Conservatorium moved into the old Rijkspostspaarbank on Van Baerlestraat in 1985. Incidentally, the historic Gebouw voor Kunsten & Wetenschappen, the main building of the Utrechts Conservatorium, was destroyed during a fire, but was rebuilt in 1988. The Rotterdams Conservatorium moved into its new building in 2000.

[78] See also the heated exchange of letters between Ton Hartsuiker and Martin Kamminga, director of the Hilversums Conservatorium in the July-August issue of *Mens en Melodie* that year (vol. 41, no. 7/8: 328-9).

[79] Page numbers refer to those in the document itself, not the .pdf file. See also note 45 above. Note that while the universities were also being reformed at this time, the HBO and WO systems remained quite separate.

It is clear that Hartsuiker's analysis is hardly disinterested; his institution's status as "top institute" was tenuous, given the ample competition from Amsterdam and The Hague for ministerial funds and talented students. Still, an examination of conservatory advertisements appearing sporadically in the 1985 volume (40) of *Mens en Melodie* indicates that several of the regional schools were actively targeting prospective students in a broad variety of disciplines, suggesting a swelling of both faculty and admissions. The Conservatorium Arnhem advertised a UM diploma "fully recognized by the state" in the following specializations: orchestral musician, chamber musician, soloist, conductor and church musician. More than 75 faculty members were listed, including a complete "lichte muziek" department.

What is even more striking about these advertisements is that historical instruments are listed as principal subjects, not only in Utrecht, but even at more remote schools such as Zwolle, the Twents Conservatorium in Enschede and Arnhem. At Zwolle, for instance, it was possible to study viola da gamba, recorder (with two teachers) and harpsichord; one could, incidentally, also study the accordion. In

Enschede and Arnhem, one could likewise study all of these, plus traverso and Baroque oboe. Aside from the lack of fortepiano and lute instruction, these offerings did not differ from those in Utrecht. Yet, the Utrechts Conservatorium was arguably a more prestigious institution and one which, with its proximity to the Stichting Organisatie Oude Muziek and the musicology department of Utrecht University, had a more longstanding association with historical performance. What is clear is that Early Music played a substantial role in the conservatories' expansion plans in the mid-1980s; whether or not this merely reflected student demand, or clever marketing, is difficult to determine.

While I did not find advertisements for the Sweelinck Conservatorium's historical performance faculty from this period, information I gathered from personal interviews indicates that the Early Music program there was likewise quite substantial. Although there was not as broad a selection of historical instruments offered in Amsterdam as there were elsewhere, there was, nevertheless, a large number of recorder and harpsichord students enrolled at this time. Menno van Delft noted that when he was a harpsichord student in Amsterdam in the early-to-mid 1980s, there were no fewer than five harpsichord teachers on staff—Gustav Leonhardt, Ton Koopman, Anneke Uittenbosch, Jaap Spigt and Kees Rosenhart—and between 30 and 40 students (Van Delft 2004). If one estimates that there were between 25-30 recorder students enrolled in the *blokfluit blok* during this period, this suggests that Early Music students were a significant minority at the Sweelinck Conservatorium as well.

The 1990s: A Profusion of Fusions

By 1986, some of the first HBO-conservatory mergers were taking place. Deetman initially ordered the Koninklijk Conservatorium to combine with the Koninklijke Academie van Beeldende Kunsten to form the Hogeschool van Beeldende Kunsten, Muziek en Dans (the Royal Academy of Fine Arts and The Royal Conservatory). This merger was completed in 1990 (De Ruiter 2001, 8). Shortly thereafter, five arts schools in Utrecht were merged: the Academie voor Beeldende Kunsten (Academy of Visual Arts and Design), the Academie voor Expressie (Theatre Academy), the Nederlandse Beiaardschool, the Nederlands Instituut voor Kerkmuziek and the Utrechts Conservatorium were combined into the Hogeschool voor de Kunsten Utrecht.[80] The other conservatories followed a similar merger process soon after: Hilversum joined with the Amsterdamse Hogeschool voor de Kunsten in 1988, and the other conservatories respectively joined the Hogeschool Alkmaar, Hogeschool voor de Kunsten Arnhem (together with the Zwolle Conservatorium, now part of the ArtEZ Hogeschool), Saxion Hogescholen (Enschede), Hogeschool Zuid (Maastricht), Fontys Hogescholen (Tilburg), and the Codarts Hogeschool voor de Kunsten (Rotterdam).

Both Ton Hartsuiker and Frans de Ruiter were displeased with the HBO system, and expressed frustration with the bureaucracy that resulted from the Utrecht and The Hague mergers. Their argument that music was distinct from other professional education sectors fell on deaf ears at the Ministry of Education, however (Van Putten 1993, De Ruiter 2001). Hartsuiker, who had assumed the directorship of the Sweelinck Conservatorium in 1993, fought to keep the institution operating independently. Nevertheless, financial problems eventually forced it to merge with the Hilversums Conservatorium in 1994.[81] The merger was completed in 1998 with the closing of the Hilversum location. The new school was renamed the Conservatorium van Amsterdam, and is now a part of the Amsterdamse Hogeschool voor de Kunsten. Both Hartsuiker and Hamminga retired that year, and the conductor Lucas Vis became the new school's first director (Janssen 1998).

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[80] These plans were announced in the February 1986 issue of *Mens en Melodie* ("Woelig muziekleven roerig concertbedrijf", vol. 41 no. 2: 96).

Also of particular note was the merger of the Groningen and Leeuwarden conservatories into the Noord Nederlands Conservatorium in 1989; the latter institution is now a department of the Hanzehogeschool. Remarkably, the Frisian facility in Leeuwarden—which only three years earlier had been promoted from MPA to Conservatorium—was closed entirely (Janssen 1999). This conservatory fusion occurred nearly simultaneously with first wave of symphony orchestra mergers in 1989. In that year, Leeuwarden's Frysk Orkest joined with the Noordelijk Filharmonisch Orkest (Groningen), resulting in the Noord Nederlands Orkest. Janssen has argued the orchestra and conservatory fusions essentially sounded the death knell for musical life in Friesland, a province which had for centuries prided itself on its linguistic and cultural independence from the rest of the country. He also noted that the Leeuwarden Conservatorium used to host an Early Music concert series in association with the Stichting Organisatie Oude Muziek. The closing of this institution, then, meant the loss of both a venue and an audience for Early Music performers in this city. Frisians had long argued that the unique status of Friesland within the rest of the Netherlands entitled it to certain financial, educational and political rights. The mergers in the music sector were the most telltale sign of the end of the *regionalisatie* policy of the 1960s and 70s, and an indication that Friesland's political power had significantly weakened.

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[81] See, for example, an article in *Het Parool* ("Sweelinck moet tekort wegwerken", 16 March, 1993), which reported financial problems resulting from the move to the Van Baerlestraat building, and threats to close the electroacoustic studio established by Ton de Leeuw some ten years earlier. The Sweelinck-Hilversum amalgamation was particularly ironic, considering Hartsuiker's rather acrimonious correspondence with Hilversum's director Martin Kamminga several years earlier (see note 78 above).

The impact of the conservatory restructuring on Early Music can be gleaned once again by an examination of advertisements placed in *Mens en Melodie* in the early 1990s. At most of the smaller, regional conservatories, it appears that the historical performance programs have been cut. At the Hogeschool voor de kunsten Arnhem, the only historical instrument being taught in 1990 is the harpsichord; all others—even the recorder—have been eliminated. Only five years earlier, the Conservatorium Arnhem had boasted substantial Early Music offerings, including two harpsichord teachers, three recorder teachers, plus traverso, gamba and Baroque oboe (see page 367-68 above). In Groningen, it was still possible to study the recorder and harpsichord in 1995, although three of the five teachers in this area were servicing this northern conservatory through an agreement with The Hague.

The Hilversum-Sweelinck conservatory fusion posed considerably more logistical problems than most of the other mergers. The Hilversums Conservatorium, located near the centre of Dutch radio and television broadcasting, had established itself as the premiere school in the country for jazz studies. At the same time, like most of the other Dutch conservatories, it also had a small Early Music faculty. This was greatly enlarged in 1990 with the appointment of Musica Antiqua Köln's principal musicians as teachers. An advertisement for Hilversum's *Opleiding Oude Muziek*, featuring Musica Antiqua's well-known members Reinhard Goebel (violinist and leader), cellist Phoebe Carrai, flutist Jed Wentz, oboist Hans Peter Westermann,[82] bassoonist Michael McCraw, trumpeter Friedemann Immer, and harpsichordist Thierry Maeder, along with other faculty members, appears in the July-August 1990 issue of *Mens en Melodie*.

The Netherlands, and indeed Hilversum in particular, might seem to be a surprising place for the Musica Antiqua Köln musicians to establish a training program for young Baroque musicians. However, as Friedemann Immer (2004) noted, while Cologne was becoming a hotbed of Early Music activity in the late 1980s-early 1990s, the Hochschule für Musik Köln formed its own performance practice department somewhat later. Additionally, the relatively low cost of the Dutch conservatories made them attractive to German students. Moreover, Musica Antiqua, which had made numerous concert tours through the Netherlands since the 1970s and had counted several Dutch musicians among its original members, was certainly well-known in that country. Still, Thérèse de Goede-Klinkhamer, a harpsichordist, specialist in basso continuo accompaniment and coordinator of the

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[82] Baroque oboist Alfredo Bernardini joined the Hilversum faculty ca. 1991. He was contacted by Thérèse de Goede-Klinkhamer when a modern oboe student became interested in the Baroque oboe (Bernardini 2004).

Early Music department at the time, remarked that the MAK faculty, despite its prestige, did not attract many students (De Goede-Klinkhamer 2000). She noted that Hamminga, the school's director, was mainly concerned with the jazz program. Indeed, an entirely separate ad for the jazz department appears in the October 1990 issue of *Mens en Melodie*, suggesting that the school's two faculties remained quite isolated from each other, despite being housed in the same building.

Combining Hilversum's jazz and Sweelinck's classical departments posed a particular challenge for the Conservatorium van Amsterdam's music theory faculty, who were forced to design a new curriculum to accommodate both subjects (Schuijer 1997). The Van Baerlestraat building was also crowded with too many students, and the lack of suitable rehearsal space and teaching rooms has been a constant problem.[83] However, the merger of the two Early Music faculties was problematic on multiple accounts. Firstly, the overlap of personnel meant that there were now duplicate teachers on Baroque violin, harpsichord, recorder and traverso, for example; there were also two departmental heads, Henk van Benthem and Thérèse de Goede. More importantly, there were significant artistic differences and personality conflicts between these very different schools of playing, which have tended to divide the Conservatorium's department into factions. While the approach of Gustav Leonhardt and his circle was more staid and reserved,[84] the musicians of Musica Antiqua Köln, being of a younger generation, had a radically different aesthetic. With their preference for swift tempos, strong dynamic contrasts, metrical accentuation and an extroverted stage presence, the Musica Antiqua performers frequently aroused controversy among critics and audiences. Although Leonhardt himself had retired in 1988, his former student Bob van Asperen was appointed his successor as harpsichord instructor, and many of his former colleagues were also on the faculty.

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[83] The Conservatorium also has use of another building in the Nieuwevaart (the Zeemanshuis), but it is located some distance from the main location, and is primarily used by jazz students. Plans are in the works to build a new conservatory as part of an arts/music complex on the Oosterdokseiland near Central Station, which is scheduled to be completed by 2008.

[84] I am referring in particular to Leonhardt's stage persona as a solo harpsichordist, which I have myself witnessed on occasion. See also Haskell (1996, 164), who writes of Leonhardt that, "His

Because most of the Musica Antiqua members had not been teaching for very long in Hilversum and did not have guaranteed hours, they were simply not asked to join the Amsterdam Conservatorium.[85] Some of Hilversum's teachers, such as Alfredo Bernardini and Friedemann Immer, could simply transfer their studios to Amsterdam—for the Sweelinck Conservatorium was not already offering Baroque oboe[86] or trumpet instruction. Others, however, faced a competition for space, pupils, teaching hours, instruments, methodology and even musical style which is still ongoing. While ultimately this has afforded students the opportunity to choose their preferred approach, particularly with regard to lesson plan (group or individual classes), it has, on occasion, resulted in conflict.

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playing is often described as austere and uncompromising, and indeed there is more than a trace of Calvinist sobriety in his demeanour, on stage as well as off....Leonhardt's playing has a slightly hermetic, other-worldly quality that evokes the master clavecinists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."

[85] The Dutch conservatories have a sort of "tenure" system that grants teachers guaranteed teaching hours, based on seniority and the type of contract (Jed Wentz, personal communication, 18 May 2005).

[86] Han de Vries, mainly a modern oboist, was also listed as Baroque oboe instructor in 1999-2000, but I do not believe that he had any students.

Curriculum Reform: From UM/DM to Eerste Fase/Tweede Fase to BA/MA and Beyond

Aside from the fusions and cutbacks in the 1990s, another point of controversy in the Dutch musical world was the introduction of a so-called two-phase structure (*tweefasenstructuur*) into the conservatories. Jozef (Jo) Ritzen (PvdA), minister of O en W in the third Lubbers cabinet (1989-1994), and, after a ministerial restructuring, minister of Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap(pen) (or OCenW) in the first Kok cabinet (1994-98), set plans in motion to further reform the music curriculum. In order to bring the conservatories in line with the rest of the HBO system, Ritzen sought to transform the *docerend musicus* track into a four-year "first phase", with a limited number of qualified students earning the right to complete a two-year "second phase" (the former *uitvoerend musicus*). In this manner, Ritzen was able to compromise with conservatory directors, who felt that a four-year training period was inadequate to prepare professional musicians for the demands of the workplace, while at the same time reducing the time limit in which students could achieve their basic diploma. In the 1994-95 school year, the initial period of study for music students was changed from five or six years to only four for the Eerste Fase (MinOCenW 1999a, 3.5).[87] The UM/DM diplomas were eventually replaced with the

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[87] This meant, of course, that the years 1997-98 and 1998-99 produced a double cohort (*dubbele uitstroom*) of music graduates.

Eerste Fase/Tweede Fase (First Phase/Second Phase) degrees after 1998 (see MinOCenW 1998, article 21.01).[88]

While this change in nomenclature might seem innocuous, the regional conservatory directors were up in arms with Ritzen's plans to limit the availability of the Second Phase diploma to only two "top institutes". Amsterdam and The Hague felt that they had a right to grant these higher degrees as a matter of course, and the Raad voor de Kunst, in a 1994 advisory letter to the State Secretary of Education Job Cohen, agreed.[89] Utrecht and Rotterdam maintained that they, too, were good enough institutions to have a Tweede Fase program; the latter conservatory also argued that the uniqueness of its World Music (*Wereldmuziek*) and pop music departments merited consideration. The regional conservatories in the south and east resented their relegation to second-class status, and felt that their exclusion from this elite program was another step towards their eventual elimination. Also at stake was a grant of some ƒ6,000,000 in additional funding to be allotted to each of the two institutions developing the Second Phase. Neither the Conservatorium van Amsterdam nor the Koninklijk Conservatorium wished to have this sum subdivided amongst the other schools.

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[88] The direct URL for this section is http://www.minocw.nl/mvt99/1_15_152.htm: *De bekostiging van de post-conservatoriale opleidingen voor het behalen van de aantekeningen begeleiden en kamermuziek en de pedagogisch-didactische aantekeningen op het diploma uitvoerend musicus in het muziekvakonderwijs is tot en met 1998 gecontinueerd. Met ingang van 1999 wordt het totaal van de hiervoor beschikbare middelen ingezet ten behoeve van de voortgezette opleidingen muziek. Wijzigingen in de structuur van het muziekvakonderwijs leiden per 1 januari 1999 tot een aangepaste Regeling bekostiging hoger onderwijs, waarin ook de inzet van de hiervoor bedoelde middelen is verwerkt.* See also "'Topinstituut voor muzikaal talent nodig,'" *Volkskrant*, 10 April 1997.

[89] "Advies: meer kwaliteit bij muziekopleiding," *Algemeen Dagblad*, 12 March 1994, 10.

The situation was only resolved when Ritzen was forced to compromise on his original plan. His second proposal, which would have established four Second Phase programs (two in the *randstad* and two in the outlying regions) was rejected by the Tweede Kamer before the 1994 elections. Consequently, there are presently not two but *six* Tweede Fase programs. Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht were granted independent departments, and two cooperative clusters were created: the Messiaen Academy (Zwolle, Enschede and Arnhem), and a program in the south (Tilburg and Maastricht). Of the eleven conservatories which now remained, only Alkmaar and Groningen were excluded, but the former school formed an agreement with the Conservatorium van Amsterdam, and the latter already had a cooperative program in place with The Hague. There were to be stricter entrance standards and a limitation on enrolment into the Second Phase; conservatories attempting to increase student admissions beyond these limits would face strong sanctions.[90]

Advanced opera study would be concentrated into a single, collaborative Second Phase program shared by The Hague and Amsterdam. The Nieuwe Opera Academie was to address the complaints of opera companies, who felt that the level of singing and acting by voice students was far too low, and that they were woefully unprepared for a stage career upon graduation (De Bruijn 1999).[91] Given the high expenses involved with this training (according to Lucas Vis, the education of an opera student cost *ƒ*70,000 per year, compared to *ƒ*15,000 for a regular music student), the opera departments at the other conservatories (including Maastricht) were phased out. Graduates of the New Opera Academy are now eligible to apply for the Opera Studio Nederland, a one-year training program for young professionals funded by the Ministerie van OCenW.

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[90] "Cohen: tweede fase voor zes conservatoria ," *NRC Handelsblad*, 4 July 1994, Kunst 6.

[91] De Bruijn's assertion that the Second Phase program began in 1994 is incorrect (see note 87 above). This is the first year in which the basic music curriculum was changed from a five or six-year course to a four-year program.

That the Eerste Fase/Tweede Fase system, first proposed in 1991, was not put into practice until 1998—and only then with considerable modifications—gives some indication of how slowly the Dutch bureaucracy can move when it comes to implementing policy change in the field of education. Indeed, the origins of this plan actually date to some *eighteen* years earlier in the statements of Arie Pais. Moreover, the Second Phase debates likewise demonstrate just how volatile regional politics continue to be in the Tweede Kamer. At the same time, they also show that such socialist values as the provision of equal educational opportunities and a suspicion of elitism have continued to hold powerful sway. Typical in this regard is the commentary of Kasper Jansen (1997), arts editor of the *NRC Handelsblad*, who was skeptical of State Secretary Nuis's "pretty words" about promoting musical amateurism: he felt that years of cutbacks and Dutch society's growing secularization were the real dual threats to Dutch musical life. As Jansen saw it, the problem was not really the regulation of the "supertop" of the musical education hierarchy, which was relatively simple to solve, but rather the recognition, stimulation and nurturing of musically talented children *before* they reach conservatory age.[92]

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[92] *Weinig is zo eenvoudig en vanzelfsprekend als het regelen van de top en de supertop in de muziekopleiding - de financiële en organisatorische problematiek daarbij is niet anders dan bij andere kunstopleidingen. Maar het huidige gekrakeel leidt af van de échte problemen die de toekomst van ons muziekleven bedreigen.* [...]*Die problemen liggen in het onderkennen, stimuleren en begeleiden van*

In recent years, further controversy has arisen in the educational sector with the advent of the European Union. The Ministerie van OCenW has been striving to make the Dutch postsecondary education compatible with those of other EU countries and with other international degrees, particularly the Bachelor/Masters system in use in the U.K. and North America. Because the WO and the HBO sectors are being converted to this degree structure, the instruction of musicology and music performance are both affected. In the conservatories, the new masters program is intended to link scholarly research with performance. Masters students in Amsterdam are to complete a research paper and/or give a presentation or lecture recital on a subject they have been investigating during the course of the two-year program. In The Hague, postgraduate students in the Early Music Department must prepare a performance edition of an unpublished work, prepare critical notes, and then perform it on their final exam.[93]

In practice, however, the process of conversion to the Bachelors/Masters structure has been very controversial among students and faculty, and there have been some organizational difficulties as universities and hogescholen have struggled to make their programs comply with the new requirements.[94] At the time of this writing, the conservatories have not yet received permission from the Ministerie van OCenW

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muzikaal talent van kinderen op een leeftijd die juist ligt vóór de conservatoriumjaren. In zijn nota Pantser of ruggengraat wijdt staatssecretaris Nuis vriendelijke woorden aan kunstzinnige vorming in het onderwijs en het bevorderen van het amateurisme. Maar komt daarvan na de kaalslag van de afgelopen decennia nog ooit echt iets terecht? Alleen al de secularisatie van de maatschappij betekent een steeds smallere basis voor de toekomstige top.

[93] See http://www.koncon.nl/public_site/KLASSIEK/EMpostgraduate.html, accessed 23 May 2005.

[94] In one case, the masters controversy at the conservatories was raised in the Tweede Kamer when one postgraduate student filed a lawsuit against the Conservatorium van Amsterdam (see Rutte 2004, and "Muziekstudenten voelen zich bedrogen", *Volkskrant,* August 7, 2004, Binnenland: 2; a correction appears in the August 11, 2004 edition).

to grant masters diplomas, and graduating students from the former Second Phase program receive a "Voortgezette Opleiding" (Postgraduate Course) diploma instead, with a note from the NUFFIC (Netherlands organization for international cooperation in higher education) stating that the degree is in the process of being changed but is roughly equivalent to a masters.[95] The Conservatorium van Amsterdam has, however, offered an M.A. in music theory for several years through a joint program with the University of Amsterdam.

There are currently also plans in the works to extend the BA/MA degrees all the way to the doctoral level. Both the Amsterdam and Royal conservatories and Leiden University's Faculty of Creative and Performing Arts are now participating in a newly-created Ph.D program for musicians through the Orpheus Institute in Ghent called docARTES. In many respects, the program requirements resemble the North American Doctor of Musical Arts degree. According to the docARTES website,[96] doctoral students must design a research proposal, give concerts or demonstrations, and then a public defense of the thesis. This program seems to be of special interest to both contemporary and Early Musicians. Of the ten students currently listed as "promovendi", six projects involve historical instruments (three harpsichordists, an organist with an interest in historical organs and two recorder players[97]); a seventh is an investigation of Late Medieval and Renaissance plainsong of the Low Countries. Because it is such a new program, however, it remains to be seen whether the docARTES degree will indeed be recognized as Ph.D by the sponsoring university or internationally.

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[95] The Bachelors diploma, however, came into use at the beginning in the 2002-2003 school year.

[96] http://www.docartes.be/ (Accessed 24 May 2005).

[97] Both recorder players and one of the harpsichordists are involved with contemporary music and/or live electronics.

The Changing Demographics of the Dutch Conservatories, 1990-Present

The population of the Dutch conservatories has been dramatically transformed in recent decades. Most significantly, in light of government pressure to economize, the school mergers and HBO clusters have slightly decreased the number of conservatories but significantly reduced the overall number of music students enrolled. A major point of government concern has been the low salaries and high unemployment rates among arts school graduates. A study of the 1994-95 class showed that while 78% of the former arts students had found paid work in their field 18 months after completing their degrees, their average monthly income was 20% lower than other HBO graduates (MinOCenW 1999a, 3.5). A later study found that 20% of 1997-98 music graduates were unemployed a year and a half after graduating; musicians were also more likely than other artists to hold a side job. Of those musicians with steady employment, half were working abroad at least part of the time; a quarter were *only* working outside the Netherlands. An astounding 83% of performers were working on a freelance or contract basis (HBO-raad 2001, vol. A, 30).[98] Such statistics, while likely typical of problems affecting classical musicians throughout Western Europe and North America, nevertheless indicate the very real challenges facing young professional musicians entering the marketplace. Given the importance of the culture sector in the Netherlands, however, high un- or underemployment rates among musicians can have serious economic repercussions.

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[98] See Chapter Six, p. 311.

Since the early 1990s, the government has responded to these concerns by reducing the overall number of arts students produced each year. While the earlier attempts of ministers Pais and Deetman to do so were relatively unsuccessful, their successors have continued to impose budgetary reforms on institutions of higher professional arts education. In 1991, the minister of WVC, Hedy d'Ancona (PvdA), announced in her policy statement for 1993-96 plans to reduce the number of music students by fifty percent. As noted in Chapter Three, the policies of d'Ancona, with their emphasis on fiscal restraint, were a significant departure from the expansionist Labour party policies of the 1970s; as such, they provoked considerable criticism from the Dutch arts world. While the directors of the three largest conservatories (Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague) conceded that 6,000 music students was far too many, none of them agreed with d'Ancona's plans to cut enrolment based on the fact that the market could not support so many musicians (Nagan 1991).

Nevertheless, Aad Nuis, State Secretary of Culture in the first Kok cabinet, continued in this vein. In the late 1990s, he announced cuts of *f*25 million per year to postsecondary arts education (Holtkamp 1999, 207). Although this amount was reduced to *f*15 million after 2001,[99] a study of this sector entitled *Beroep Kunstenaar* ("the artist's profession") commissioned by Jo Ritzen, Minister of OCenW in this same administration, reveals that the cutbacks were already having the desired impact (see Figure 5 above). From 1990 to 1999—the period during which the arts institutes were converted to the HBO system—overall student enrolment declined by 25% (MinOCenW 1999a, 3.3).[100] At the same time, however, because the overall number of students across the entire HBO sector had grown from 1980 to 2000, and government funding of this sector had not kept pace with this increase, the amount of funding per HBO student had actually decreased by 16% (Onderwijsraad 2004, 42).[101] These statistics imply that even though the number of arts students had decreased, the state expenditure per student had *also* decreased.

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[99] While it was the intention of Nuis's successor in the second Kok cabinet, Rick van der Ploeg, to continue these reductions, the Tweede Kamer felt that the cutbacks were too extreme and lowered the amount (Pots 2002, 346).

On the whole, the attempts of d'Ancona, Nuis and Van der Ploeg to reduce the number of arts students in the HBO have had mixed results. Recent figures from the CBS indicate that the number of students in this sector has been slowly climbing back up to 20,000 since 2001 (see Figure 5 above). The number of music students, while down from the 1991 figure of 6,000, has been hovering above the 5,000 mark for the past four years, clearly falling short of D'Ancona's goal of a 50% reduction in music students.

Still, the funding cutbacks to art education have posed a major financial problem for music education in particular. On the one hand, the Ministerie van OCenW stated that the conservatories needed a minimum of 700 students, spread out among the different areas, in order to function well (MinOCenW 1999a, 9.9). However, the decreasing number of students, coupled with reduced funding from the ministry, made it difficult to maintain full program offerings in all areas. As a result, most of the conservatories are now choosing to focus their resources on one or two areas of specialization. A conservatory which can demonstrate both a unique niche in a crowded marketplace and high artistic achievement in a particular musical genre is insuring itself against outright elimination during the next wave of budget cuts and educational restructuring. While The Hague, for example, described itself as an "all-round Conservatorium" in a 1991 advertisement, its particular strengths are its classical music, sonology and Early Music programs. The Conservatorium van Amsterdam likewise offers a broad course of study, but is especially strong in jazz (a legacy of the Hilversum program) and classical music (because of its historical connection with the Concertgebouw musicians). Rotterdam has developed a unique program in world music (particularly Indian classical and Turkish musics) and rock/pop music. In Tilburg, a Rockacademie was established in 1999 with the assistance of the Nationaal Pop Instituut (NPI). The expansion of non-western music, jazz and popular musics in the conservatories in the 1990s corresponds not only with increased student interest, but also with government policy statements which have been emphasizing these areas (see Chapter Six, p. 269 and 273 ff.).

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[100] *Uit een recente analyse van cijfermateriaal bij het ministerie van OcenW blijkt dat het aantal ingeschreven studenten in het kunstvakonderwijs sinds 1990 gemiddeld met 25% is afgenomen.*

[101] *Het macrobudget van rijksuitgaven voor het hbo nam in de periode 1980-2000 toe met 33% (prijspeil 2000). Omdat het aantal studenten in dezelfde periode relatief sterker toenam dan de rijksuitgaven, daalden de rijksuitgaven per student. In 1980 gaf het Rijk per hbo-student 10.600 euro uit; in 2000 was dat nog 8.900 euro. De rijksuitgaven per student namen dus af met 16%.*

A concomitant development in the late 1990s has been a relative shrinking of the number of Early Music programs. At the time of this writing, only the Royal Conservatory, the Conservatorium van Amsterdam and the Utrechts Conservatorium currently offer instruction on period instruments. The Hogeschool voor de Kunsten Utrecht, however, is threatening to close the Early Music program because of the conservatory's multi-million euro deficit.[102] Given Utrecht's longstanding synonymy with historical performance, not only in the Conservatorium but also the Utrecht Festival Oude Muziek and Utrecht University's musicology department, this is a regrettable development. Correspondingly, there has also been a concurrent decline in enrolment in Early Music programs (see Appendix 3). The Early Music heyday of the 1980s is clearly at an end: now that the government funding structure has changed, maintaining an Early Music program is no longer lucrative for most of the Dutch conservatories.

Lastly, one aspect of the Dutch conservatories which is particularly striking is the large percentage of foreign students. On average, 29% of all music students come from abroad (with 6% of these coming from outside the EU/ER) (MinOCenW 1999a, 3.5).[103] The Early Music departments, however, tend to be especially international. A study commissioned by the MinOCenW found that 91% of the Early Music students in The Hague are foreigners (Berger and De Jonge 2003, 33). The figures for Amsterdam were similar: in the 2002-03 school year, 47 out of the 55 Early Music majors were foreigners, or about 85% (Nuchelmans 2003b). By contrast, Nuchelmans noted that at the Paris Conservatoire, where he had recently served as director of the Early Music program, about 75% of the students were French nationals.

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[102] See "Conservatorium wil afdelingen afstoten," *Utrechts Nieuwsblad*, 11 June 2004.

[103] This data is from 1997; it is likely, since the expansion of the European Union in 2004, that this number is now even higher.

One reason for the high percentage of international students surely has to do with the advent of the European Union. The Dutch promotion of *internationalisering* (international exchange) through such programs as the Erasmus/Socrates program has opened up the conservatories to an influx of students from across the continent. Moreover, EU or EER (European Economic Region) citizens are also eligible for the same *studiefinancering* (study financing) benefits as the Dutch, including tuition reimbursement and a public transportation pass, making the Netherlands an attractive and affordable place to study. In the years prior to the 2004 EU expansion, students from the ten new member states were granted additional rights and there was an influx of students from Eastern Europe arriving to the Netherlands. During my years as a student at the Conservatorium van Amsterdam (1999-2003), I personally witnessed an increasing number of Polish, Czech, Estonian, Latvian, and Slovenian students interested in historical performance. Without a doubt, this new generation of Eastern European Early Musickers will have a significant impact not only on the Dutch scene, but also on the musical life of their home countries.

At the same time, the above figures seem to indicate a relative lack of interest by native Dutch musicians in historical performance. The three Early Music directors I interviewed, plus numerous other Dutch teachers and students confirmed that, while the Early Music programs had always attracted a large number of foreigners, the number of native Dutch students has declined since the 1970s. Most Dutch teachers and administrators, when asked *why* this was the case, could only answer that they did not know.[104] When I asked a Dutch recorder student why there were so few fellow Dutch students enrolled in the department, he simply stated, "It's not hot anymore." He felt that, while most of the Early Music teachers were Dutch, and that there were still a number of native Dutch players in the Netherlands, most lacked the charisma of the older generation. As a young professional entering the scene, he hoped to revive interest in the recorder once again, attract new Dutch students to the instrument, and rebuild the "recorder infrastructure" in the Netherlands. Ironically, he felt that the "democratic system" in use in the *muziekscholen* had actually worked to the detriment of promoting the recorder. Because all Dutch children had the right to study the recorder, and because there were so many students enrolled, they all received the same amount of lesson time (25 minutes each per week), regardless of talent or ability. In his opinion, recorder students coming from Germany (particularly those from Passau and Freiburg) often received better instruction on the instrument than students in the Netherlands, the country at the very centre of the recorder revival. It remains to be seen whether Early Musickers of his generation can successfully revive interest in historical performance after the retirement of the Baby Boomers.

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[104] One person I interviewed was also curious about this question, and asked *me* what his colleagues had answered!

Conclusion

An historical overview of the music education system in the Netherlands reveals that well-intentioned government policies and social programming have had some unintended repercussions and, in some cases, financially disastrous results. The advocacy of *cultuurspreiding* and the expansion of conservatories, particularly in the periphery of the country, produced a network of redundant educational institutions which ultimately proved unaffordable. Moreover, the unchecked swelling of student enrolment in the 1970s and 80s led to an oversupply of professional musicians in the 1990s, a thorny problem with which the Ministerie van OCenW is continuing to grapple (see Chapter Six, pp. 303-04). Despite repeated attempts by successive ministers and state secretaries of education and culture to instigate reforms in this area, real change has been slow to come over the past twenty years, and most cutbacks to the education sector have proven to be politically inauspicious. As such, student enrolment in the conservatories, although it dipped somewhat in the late 1990s, has once again been increasing over the past years; current figures indicate that it has been reduced by less than 15% since 1991.

The Dutch Early Music movement was scarcely impervious to the mixing of educational policy with social welfare design. The popularity of the recorder, for example, owed much to the incorporation of this instrument in elementary classroom music instruction in the postwar period. Its inclusion in the conservatory curriculum at the postsecondary level was a logical outcome of this policy, and set a precedent for the expansion of historical performance programs and a move towards the greater professionalization of playing standards. Still, as more and more conservatories established Early Music departments in an attempt to attract students and to keep up with other institutions, there was a lack of centralized planning by the federal ministry of education to control such growth. The Early Music movement effectively became a victim of its own success: inconsistent admissions standards across the conservatories led to a surplus of equally-qualified musicians on the market, at least on paper. This, coupled with a collapse of the recording industry and cutbacks to arts funding, has made it increasingly difficult for young musicians to find adequate employment.[105]

In the 1970s, when faced with the simultaneous pressures of rising enrolment and reduced budgets, conservatories were forced to adapt. Early Music programs pioneered the use of project-based and group instruction, one means by which a large number of students could be accommodated for a minimum of instructional hours. Indeed, such a master class format has been particularly appealing to instructors of recorder, harpsichord, Baroque violin and oboe. While this system may offer certain pedagogical advantages, it may also have a number of potential drawbacks (see Chapter Four).

The conservatory mergers of the 1990s and the reduction in the number of institutions offering instruction on historical instruments have likely helped to reduce some of these pressures. Still, the smaller student population, the increasingly international conservatory environments, and the growing specialization of the remaining musical institutions have profoundly affected the nature of the Dutch Early Music movement. On the one hand, the influx of foreign students has helped to maintain the scene's vitality. On the other, however, with the threatened closure of Utrecht's Early Music program, Pais's proposal some twenty-five years earlier to concentrate historical performance in one conservatory—The Hague—may yet become a reality. The establishment of the Koninklijk Conservatorium as the sole institution for Early Music could lead to stagnation, however. Competition from other conservatories, particularly Amsterdam, has fostered the development of fresh approaches to performing the music of the past.

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[105] See Chapter Six, pp. 303-05.

Raising admissions standards and increasing course requirements are likely the most effective way for the Ministerie van OCenW to reduce the number of conservatory students to a more manageable number. A 2001 report entitled *Toekomstmuziek*[106] produced by the HBO-Raad, a council which oversees higher professional education in the Netherlands, found that all the conservatories had rather vague examination standards, with little of concrete or objective value written in the *studiegids* (study guide, or academic calendar) to gauge playing level or technical competence (HBO-Raad 2001, vol. A, 48). The Raad also found that the conservatories had insufficient mechanisms in place to ensure quality control and to guarantee the minimum qualifications of its graduates (59). In part, the very subjectivity of evaluating music performance makes it difficult to express these requirements in concrete terms. The implementation of the Bachelor/Masters degree structure may address many of the HBO-Raad's concerns, though the new program will need to be monitored and adequately funded in order to be successful. In response to the Raad's recommendation, the conservatories have begun to track their alumni after graduation. This feedback will help them to evaluate how prepared graduating students are to face the demands of the competitive music marketplace.

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[106] This term literally translates as "the music of the future", but it is used as an expression to mean something quixotic or fantastic, similar to the English expression "pipe dream".

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

Recapitulation

A detailed examination of the Early Music scene in the Netherlands has suggested several factors which account for its success with the Dutch public, and its importance to the historical performance movement as a whole. These include a strong state infrastructure supporting artists, arts organizations and education programs, government policies on culture which have indirectly benefited Early Musicians, and the music industry, as well as particular cultural and demographic factors in the Netherlands which coincided with Early Music's professionalization and commercial success.

In many respects, the Dutch Early Music movement's resilience can be explained by the fact that it was simultaneously backward-looking *and* progressive. Its practitioners were able to straddle conflicting aesthetic, generational, political and philosophical worlds, granting Early Music a broader popular appeal, moving it from the fringe of Dutch musical life into the mainstream. Embracing this duality also allowed Early Musicians to silence potential critics who might have readily written off historical performers as either reactionary (for rejecting new music and modern instruments) or radical (for a revisionist approach to deeply-cherished 18th-century musical classics).

Firstly, Dutch Early Musicians were able to tap into a preexisting cultural fascination with J.S. Bach, rejuvenating it, and continually reinventing it. The Bach performance tradition became entrenched in Dutch culture through the annual Easter *St. Matthew Passion* performances of conductor Willem Mengelberg and the Concertgebouw Orchestra, and other Bach performances by amateur choral groups, such as the Toonkunst choirs in the early decades of the 20th century. This intrinsically foreign tradition imported from Germany has continued to thrive to the present day, despite the fact that there would seem to be many social conditions which would counteract it, or render it less relevant. Chief among these were the dramatic cultural changes brought about by the turbulent 1960s: deconfessionalization and secularization, a rejection of traditional art and cultural forms (especially the symphony orchestra), and a critique of such institutions as churches, schools and universities by the baby boomer generation. However, Early Musicians could appeal to older, more conservative audiences by continuing the Bach Passion tradition, albeit in a smaller, more intimate format than Mengelberg's conception. At the same time, other aspects of the Early Music movement could appeal to younger generations, such as the use of period instruments (effectively a novelty, despite their antiquity), exploring "new" early repertoires (i.e., less commonly-performed works in addition to Bach), performing in intimate and "democratic" small ensembles instead of the more hierarchically-organized symphony orchestras, wearing casual clothing instead of formal concert dress, and holding performances in unconventional concert spaces, such as churches and historic buildings instead of 19th-century concert halls. In this regard, Early Musicians shared much in common with their counterparts in the Netherlands' jazz and contemporary music scene, who likewise explored atypical orchestration, formed small and flexible ensembles, performed in jeans, and used the Bimhuis, Carré, Ijsbreker, Paradiso and other venues instead of the Concertgebouw. As the composer Louis Andriessen stated in a recent interview,

> …the Concertgebouw *is* basically for classical and Romantic music. But there were also a few new music concerts; and certainly there were jazz concerts there for years. When I was 15 I saw Miles Davis there, and other people too. So it was not completely forbidden to go to the Concertgebouw: when there were good people playing you went there. However, the fact that we worked in new venues was also very important. Because of the activities of my generation in the sixties and early seventies, there are many more concert halls in Amsterdam.[1]

Eventually, it was also possible for Early Musicians to use the Concertgebouw as well, with conductors such as Nikolaus Harnoncourt and Ton Koopman appearing there with their own ensembles, or as specialist guest directors invited to lead modern orchestras in the performance of 18th-century repertoire. In this manner, historical performers could make use of large venues and large ensembles (i.e., orchestras) to reach a more traditional "bourgeois" concert-going audience, while also performing in small ensembles in smaller venues to reach another public.

In terms of musical aesthetics, Early Musicians could also appeal to members of the baby boomer counterculture. "New", jazz and Early Musicians shared an interest in improvisation, extemporization and ornamentation. In a 1960s atmosphere that was both anti-Romantic (in its rejection of 19th-century symphonic repertoire) and anti-Darmstadt (in its rejection of total serialism), young musicians in all three genres sought greater creative input and freedom in their performances. There were other commonalities in terms of timbre. Andriessen, for example, has been an outspoken advocate of vibratoless singing. As he put it,

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[1] Cited in Adlington 2004, 144.

> I am very specifically a sworn enemy of vibrato. It is not necessary anymore: it is not done by Baroque singers, it is not done by jazz singers, it is not done by folk singers, it is not done by pop singers, and it is not done by mothers when they sing to their children.[2]

Note Andriessen's specific mention of "Baroque singers" above, though vibratoless playing has been a characteristic of Early Music string and wind playing as well. Both represent a similar anti-Romantic response to the affectations of operatic singing and the constant, intense vibrato typical of modern instrumental solo playing. Indeed, the shared advocacy of a "straight" singing tone, improvisation, and the thinner, more flexible textures afforded by smaller ensembles is not merely a reflection of the 1960s *zeitgeist* and a mutual respect between New and Early Musicians: it was evinced by a cross-pollination in audiences and even musical personnel.[3] By making older repertoire sound new through a different approach in sound production, texture and instrumentation, and by performing in a variety of concert spaces, Early Musicians could reach across generational lines. They could endorse the same values as contemporary composers and heighten their countercultural appeal, while retaining their acceptability to the "establishment" and its older audiences.

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[2] Cited in Trochimczyk 2002, 169. See also Adlington 2004, 38-39.

[3] Examples of musicians active in the Dutch scene abound: they include recorder player Frans Brüggen, singer Claron McFadden, fortepianist Stanley Hoogland and harpsichordist Annelie de Man.

Secondly, Dutch Early Musicians—though looking backwards in terms of repertoire and instrumentation—retained their link to the present day by taking advantage of new technological innovations. Key among these are advances in instrument reproduction, which allow builders to produce more exact copies of antique instruments; and especially advances in sound reproduction, broadcasting and recording. As such, companies, organizations and workshops based in the Netherlands have achieved success in all these areas. Upstart record companies found it more affordable to record small ensembles with lesser-known musicians rather than large symphonies or operas with big-name stars; recordings of pre-1800 repertoire initially proved profitable to a niche market. The invention of the compact disc and the resultant recording boom of the 1980s proved especially beneficial to period instrument ensembles. As mainstream record companies like Philips became involved, Early Musicians benefited from their financial support and their ability to produce, circulate and advertise on a larger scale. With the classical music divisions of the major labels struggling since the late 1990s, Early Music groups have shown flexibility and adaptability by embracing new technologies (such as the SACD), unconventional distribution networks (through non-music retailers or internet sales), and specialist labels. In this manner, Early Musicians have successfully combined an historical approach to performance practice with a modern approach to recording, production and distribution, thus allowing the circulation of their performances to a wider audience.

Thirdly, Dutch Early Music ensembles have been remarkably adept in terms of their financial management and have thrived even during periods of high unemployment, government retrenchment and cutbacks. Forced from the beginning to find alternative sources of funding, since most federal monies earmarked for music were channeled to the symphony orchestras, Early Musicians have proven to be less dependent on government subsidies than their mainstream counterparts. Through a combination of strong ticket sales, grassroots audience support, recording, touring and corporate sponsorship in addition to modest government support, and a willingness to work on a lower-cost, freelance basis, Early Music ensembles have displayed a diversity of funding sources which have made them more adaptable to market fluctuations and periods of fiscal restraint.

Fourthly, Dutch Early musicians were able to bridge the divide of amateur and professional musicianship, particularly by means of the education system. On the one hand, Early Music fit in with the federal government's education policies of the 1960s and 70s, particularly the ideals of democracy, accessibility, participation and community in music-making. At the same time, by staking a place in the conservatories, Early Musicians gained legitimacy and mainstream acceptance, as well as more consistent playing standards. As Early Music ensembles made a push towards greater professionalization beginning in the late 1960s, amateurs remained the basis of their audience support. Amateur choral societies, who often put on annual productions of Hadyn's *Die Schöpfung* or the Bach Passions, also provided a performance outlet for young professionals; Baroque instrumentalists could gain experience playing with these freelance accompaniment orchestras.

All things considered, the Early Music movement has flourished in the Netherlands through this broad base of institutional, corporate, government and audience support. Other countries with important Early Music scenes no doubt share some of these elements, especially the Netherlands' closest neighbours, the U.K. and Germany.[4] The British and Dutch period instrument orchestras, for example, both benefited greatly from support and promotion by such record companies as Decca and Philips. Likewise, as John Butt has noted, heritage and preservationist movements (particularly regarding historic buildings, churches and organs) have been particularly strong in both countries (Butt 2002, 172, 236 n.5). The Germans and Dutch have shared a mutual reverence for J.S. Bach, a recorder revival linked to youth and amateur folk movements, and—that ironic legacy of the Nazi occupation—institutionalized federal support for music and culture, particularly the symphony orchestras. Still, it is the forceful combination of all of these factors in the Netherlands which, coupled with the individual achievements of several high-profile Dutch performers, account for the movement's overwhelming success.

The current musical climate presents major challenges to Early Musicians, namely: shrinking federal arts subsidies, major cutbacks to the public broadcast sector, struggling major recording companies, a surplus of professional musicians, and a shrinking and ageing domestic audience for classical music. What is more, the dependence of conservatory Early Music Departments on foreign students is of concern, particularly if a waning of interest in historical performance dries up the supply of young musicians from abroad. If the Dutch Early Music movement is to remain a vital part of musical life, it will need to once again adapt and renew itself in response to this changing environment.

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[4] While Early Musicians in the Netherlands and the U.S. have shared a certain countercultural cachet, the institutional structure in both countries (particularly regarding education and arts funding) is substantially different, warranting a separate examination.

Early Music and Cultural Policy: Some Larger Implications

On one level, this analysis of the Dutch Early Music movement may be considered as an important contribution towards a holistic account of historical performance in the 20th and early 21st century, or as a model for comparison with other Early Music scenes or "art worlds". On another level, however, it may serve as a case study analysis of how the goals and actions of individual artists are mediated and shaped by the larger forces of institution, state and marketplace. Together, these forces complicate the dialectical model of a countercultural music "avant-garde" and its relationship to the mainstream. As Bourdieu noted,

> The structure of the field of cultural production is based on two fundamental and quite different oppositions: first, the opposition between the sub-field of restricted production and the sub-field of large-scale production, i.e. between two economies, two time-scales, two audiences, which endlessly produces and reproduces the negative existence of the sub-field of restricted production and its basic opposition to the bourgeois economic order; and secondly, the opposition, within the sub-field of restricted production, between the consecrated avant-garde and the avant-garde, the established figures and the

> newcomers, i.e., between *artistic generations*, often only a few years apart, between the 'young' and the 'old', the 'neo' and the 'paleo', the 'new' and the 'outmoded', etc.; in short, between cultural orthodoxy and heresy. (Bourdieu 1993, 53)

If mainstream classical music is the orthodox culture, and Early Music the heresy, then Early Music's status as oppositional to the former is problematized by its cooperation with commercial interests, its espousal of government subsidy, and its place within educational institutions. This is not simply to say that the Early Music avant-garde has been co-opted or that it has "sold out" to the mainstream in its current manifestations, but that the existence of sub-fields in the Dutch cultural sector are complicated by their interdependence on these socioeconomic factors.[5]

Early Music's relationship to the culture industry has been particularly ambivalent. It might be argued that historical performers have been more responsive to, and reflective of, audience tastes than, for example, contemporary musicians producing very dissonant or experimental works. Record companies have certainly profited from Early Music's popularity, as have ensembles, who have used recordings to document their performance approach and as promotional tools, thus expanding their international audience and attracting critical attention. The drawback is that the pressures of the industry have sometimes forced compromises on Early Musicians with regard to aesthetic or historical ideals. Key examples include Warner Music Group's termination of the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra Bach cantata project mid-way through production (despite favourable reviews) because of its prohibitive cost, and the budget period instrument recordings of Bach cantatas manufactured for sale in the Kruidvat drug store chain. Some critics have charged that the latter recordings were produced quickly and inexpensively at the expense of historical accuracy, though arguably they have helped to develop a new market for classical music. Dependence on the recording companies makes Early Music ensembles subject to the vagaries of the marketplace, while the industry's homogenizing tendency compromises their countercultural status.

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[5] Indeed, if one considers the contemporary music scene of Andriessen, Peter Schat, and the other *Notenkrakers* as the "*consecrated* avant-garde" in response to the Early Music avant-garde, then this binary is complicated by the above-noted interrelationship of the two.

Equally problematic has been Early Music's relationship with the government. When the federal administration becomes involved in arts funding, there is necessarily a profound impact on the cultural field at large, even when the state claims, as in the Dutch case, a purportedly neutral or hands-off stance on the artistic activities it finances.[6] In the 1960s, the symphony orchestras' monopoly of state funds effectively stifled the production of new or alternative music forms, making it difficult for them to be heard. While a greater diversity of ensembles began to receive support in the 1970s, the lack of a clear funding policy meant that spending on culture had gone beyond the government's means; that some artists and musicians were able to operate largely independent of market or audience concerns led to charges of elitism. The merger and closing of regional symphony orchestras, beginning in the mid-1980s, has freed up funding for new projects in the music sector, including Early Music ensembles, but it has left the outlying sections of the country cut off from the cultural activities in the *randstad*, while diminishing the employment prospects for orchestral musicians. Since 1993, when policy statements on culture began to appear every four years, arts organizations have been forced to adapt their platform or programming in order to conform to the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science's guidelines. In this regard, the Utrecht Early Music Festival's unsuccessful attempt to mix "World Music" and "Early Music" in the late 1990s is a case in point. The Ministry's objective to promote multiculturalism in the arts and to encourage arts organizations to attract a broader demographic may have had some merit, but the result was the alienation of the Festival's core audience, causing its overall attendance figures to drop.

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[6] See also the chapter "Art and the State" in Becker 1982, 165-91.

It is true that on the whole, Early Music ensembles have benefited enormously from federal subsidies. These grants have given stability to their operating budgets, while allowing them to expand in size, professionalize their membership, organize tours, and complete large-scale recording projects which might not otherwise have been possible. Moreover, with government funding and approval ensembles gain status and legitimacy. The trade-off, however, can be a distancing from the organizations' original creative mission, and larger ensembles may afford its individual members less creative input and flexibility. An ensemble's status as "avant-garde" or countercultural is also compromised by its association with the government "establishment."[7] Dependency on government funding also makes them subject to the whims of ministerial policy and budget planning. Current cutbacks to subsidies, for example, threaten to destabilize the Dutch Early Music scene, and could potentially cause an enormous increase in unemployment—not only for performers, but also arts administrators, instrument manufacturers, sound engineers, broadcasters, and others dependent upon this branch of the culture sector. The government must carefully manage its funding priorities in an attempt to achieve a balanced cultural agenda: dramatic policy departures can upset not only the Early Music scene, but the Netherlands' entire cultural infrastructure.

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[7] That the Raad voor Cultuur placed the period instrument orchestras into the "large producing institution" category for the 2005-2008 *Cultuurnota* (thus subjecting them to a mandatory reduction of 2.5% of their subsidy) can be taken as emblematic of the drawbacks of "mainstream" status.

Another example of the mixed blessing presented by government involvement is Early Music's incorporation into the national music education system. On the one hand, the use of the recorder in the elementary classroom fit in with post-war educational goals, and as a result, the familiarity with and promotion of this instrument arguably expanded the audience for historical performance. However, Early Musicians were then faced with a very different dilemma: the association of the recorder and other period instruments with children and amateurs made it difficult for historical performers to assert their status as professional musicians. The creation of Early Music Departments in the conservatories, which granted historical performance a certain legitimacy, nevertheless forced certain compromises to be made with the movement's ideals. The authoritarian structure of the conservatory conflicts with Early Music's original goals of democratic music-making and participation by all. The constraints of the institution also impose limitations on the pursuit of historical verisimilitude, particularly regarding instrument choice, tuning, and experimentation with different approaches to performance practice. Lastly, the government's conservatory expansion project during the 1970s, and the growth in the number of Early Music Departments, gave rise to an overproduction of musicians. Enrollment levels in these programs have not been controlled with regard to the numbers of professional musicians the market can tolerate. Failing to stem the production of new musicians in the educational sector while cutting performing arts subsidies on the other end is not sound cultural management. The support of developing ensembles is necessary to ensure that young graduates are able to secure employment. At the same time, the closing of many of the Dutch Early Music departments has made it difficult for alternative or competing theories of historical performance to be heard. Streamlining Early Music into one or two programs may be more efficient, but it can also result in a standardized approach to performance and a lack of diversity in interpretation.

Some Final Remarks

Writing an account of the Early Music movement in the Netherlands presents a microcosm of the problem often faced by cultural historians: how does one recognize the significance of individual agency in an account that also acknowledges the constraints of larger socioeconomic and institutional structures? Previous accounts of the Dutch Early Music movement, for example, have tended to emphasize the contributions of prominent individual performers at the expense of broader, systemic analysis. This study, by contrast, while by no means denying the important role of these major artists, has sought to situate them in a larger sociopolitical and economic system, and to understand their actions within that context. At the same time, it has examined the impact of both those prominent figures and the larger system on another group: the individual pre-professional Early Musicians at the conservatory. Ethnographic research is one means by which oral histories and observations can be integrated into the narrative, allowing individual voices and experiences to be heard, even while acknowledging the larger forces at work. The resultant "messy text" thus expresses the inevitable dissonances, disagreements and contingencies that remain unresolved.

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APPENDIX ONE

FEDERAL SUBSIDIES TO EARLY MUSIC AND RELATED SUPPORT ORGANIZATIONS, 1988-2008

Organization	1988	1993-96: advice	1993-96 result	1996 adjustments	1997-2000 requested	1997-2000 result	1999 adjustments
Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra & Choir	fl 100,000	fl 130,000	fl 130,000		fl 800,000	fl 330,000	fl 451,000
Nederlandse Bachvereniging	fl 170,000	fl 250,000	fl 122,000	fl 218,000	fl 413,000	fl 318,000	fl 384,000
Orchestra of the 18th Century	fl 150,000	fl 300,000	fl 300,000		fl 300,000	fl 300,000	fl 356,000
STOOM (Festival & Netwerk)	fl 350,000	fl 750,000	fl 750,000	fl 839,000	fl 1,944,000	fl 839,000	fl 912,000
Combattimento Consort Amsterdam		fl 150,000	fl 142,000	fl 156,000	fl 710,000	fl 156,000	fl 227,000
Collegium Europae		fl 0	fl 0				
Cappella Pratensis					fl 213,000	fl 0	
Concerto '91 (Concerto d'Amsterdam)					fl 200,000	fl 0	
Les Perruques d'Amsterdam							
Amsterdam Loeki Stardust Quartet							
Brisk Recorder Quartet							
New Dutch Academy							
Camerata Trajectina							
Musica Classica							
Utrechts Barok Consort							
Barokensemble De Swaen							
Cappella Amsterdam							
Collegium AD MOSAM							
TOTAL	**fl 770,000**	**fl 1,580,000**	**fl 1,444,000**			**fl 1,943,000**	
Supporting organizations							
Reisbudget ensembles		fl 300,000	fl 0				
Nederlands Impresariaat		fl 2,269,000	fl 2,162,000	fl 2,405,000	fl 6,000,000	fl 2,755,000	fl 2,795,000.00
De Kamervraag							
Fonds voor de Podiumkunsten			fl 13,960,000		fl 33,535,000	fl 16,960,000	fl 24,475,000
Fonds voor Amateurkunst & Podiumkunsten							

Source: Raad voor de Kunst, Raad voor Cultuur, MinWVC, MinOCenW
€1= fl 2.20371

Organization	2001-2004 fl	2001 € adjustments	2001-2004 €	2005-2008 requested	2005-2008 result	change 08-04	change in %
Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra & Choir	fl 451,000	€ 205,000	€ 300,790	€ 450,000	€ 293,500	-€ 7,290	-2.42%
Nederlandse Bachvereniging	fl 484,000	€ 220,000	€ 329,938	€ 494,231	€ 392,000	€ 62,062	18.81%
Orchestra of the 18th Century	fl 356,000	€ 162,000	€ 226,969	€ 250,000	€ 244,500	€ 17,531	7.72%
STOOM (Festival & Netwerk)	fl 912,000	€ 414,000	€ 458,093	€ 947,432	€ 538,750	€ 80,657	17.61%
Combattimento Consort Amsterdam	fl 252,000	€ 114,000	€ 169,325	€ 693,995	€ 165,250	-€ 4,075	-2.41%
Collegium Europae							
Cappella Pratensis	fl 50,000	€ 23,000	€ 33,515	€ 143,200	€ 33,750	€ 235	0.70%
Concerto '91 (Concerto d'Amsterdam)	fl 100,000	€ 45,000	€ 67,975	€ 88,600	€ 0	-€ 67,975	-100.00%
Les Perruques d'Amsterdam	fl 0	€ 0					
Amsterdam Loeki Stardust Quartet	fl 36,000	€ 16,000	€ 24,456	€ 55,000	€ 27,000	€ 2,544	10.40%
Brisk Recorder Quartet	n/a		€ 0	€ 102,413	€ 19,000		
New Dutch Academy	n/a		€ 0	€ 625,870	€ 0		
Camerata Trajectina			€ 0	€ 75,546	€ 22,000		
Musica Classica			€ 0	€ 35,000	€ 0		
Utrechts Barok Consort			€ 0	€ 72,000	€ 0		
Barokensemble De Swaen			n/a	€ 80,575	€ 0		
Cappella Amsterdam	fl 150,000	€ 68,000	€ 100,992	€ 314,000	€ 197,500	€ 96,508	95.56%
Collegium AD MOSAM			n/a	€ 65,000	€ 0		
TOTAL	**fl 2,791,000**		**€ 1,712,053**		**€ 1,933,250**		
Supporting organizations							
Reisbudget ensembles							
Nederlands Impresariaat							
De Kamervraag			€ 467,729	€ 470,000	€ 423,250	-€ 44,479	-9.51%
Fonds voor de Podiumkunsten	fl 25,975,000	€ 11,787,000					
Fonds voor Amateurkunst & Podiumkunsten			€ 14,133,610	€ 13,590,870	€ 12,551,750	-€ 1,581,860	-11.19%

Source: Raad voor de Kunst, Raad voor Cultuur, MinWVC, MinOCenW
€1= fl 2.20371

APPENDIX TWO

TIMELINE OF DUTCH POSTSECONDARY MUSIC EDUCATION: 1959-2005

Year	Conservatoria	Muzieklycea	muziekschool met vakopleiding	Other
1959	Amsterdams Cons.	Groningen		
	Rotterdam	Zwolle		
	Utrecht	Arnhem		
	The Hague			
	Muzieklyceum Amsterdam			
	Brabant (Tilburg)			
	Maastricht			
1970	Amsterdams Cons.	Arnhem	Haarlem	Nederlandse Beiaardschool
	Rotterdam	Zwolle	Hilversum	Nederlands Instituut voor Katholieke Kerkmuziek
	Utrecht	Enschede	Leeuwarden	
	The Hague			
	Muzieklyceum Amsterdam			
	Brabant (Tilburg)			
	Maastricht			
	Groningen			
1973	**11 conservatories**	**3 muziekpedagogische akademies (MPAs)**		**Other**
	Amsterdams Cons.	*Alkmaar*(new)		Nederlandse Beiaardschool
	Rotterdam	Leeuwarden		Nederlands Instituut voor Katholieke Kerkmuziek (est. 1925)
	Utrecht	Hilversum		Afdeling "Conservatorium", Muziekschool Haarlem
	The Hague			
	Muzieklyceum Amsterdam			

	Brabant (Tilburg)	
	Maastricht	
	Groningen	
	Arnhem	
	Zwolle	
	Enschede	
1976	**13** **conservatories:** merger of Haarlem with the Muzieklyceum Amsterdam and Conservatorium to form the Sweelinck Conservatorium	
1983	Instituut voor Sonologie moves from Utrecht University to the Koninklijk Conservatorium in The Hague	
1986	formation of HBO cluster: Utrechts Conservatorium; Nederlandse Beiaardschool; Nederlands Instituut voor Kermuziek plus Academie voor Beeldende Kunsten; Academie voor Expressie	
	15 **conservatories:** 3 muziekepedagogische akademies promoted to conservatories: Leeuwarden, Alkmaar and Hilversum	
1988	Hilversums Conservatorium merges with the Amsterdamse Hogeschool voor de Kunsten (itself founded in 1987)	
1989	**12** **conservatories:** fusion of the Groningen and Leeuwarden conservatories into the Noord Nederlands Conservatorium; Leeuwarden facility closed	
1990	Fusion of the Koninklijk Conservatorium with the Koninklijke Academie van Beeldende Kunsten other conservatories join hogeschool (HBO) system	
1994	**11** **conservatories:** fusion of the Hilversums Conservatorium with the Sweelinck Conservatorium	
1998	Hilversum/Sweelinck fusion completed; new school named the Conservatorium van Amsterdam, part of the Amsterdamse Hogeschool voor de Kunsten Hilversum facility closes Eerste Fase/Tweede Fase structure implemented:	

1^e^/2^e^ Fase	**Cluster schools**
Conservatorium van Amsterdam	Alkmaar
Koninklijk Conservatorium, Den Haag	Groningen

	Utrechts Conservatorium Rotterdams Conservatorium	
	Zuid (South) cluster	Tilburg Maastricht
	Messiaen Academie	Enschede Zwolle Arnhem
2002-2003	**BA/MA (Bachelors/Masters) structure introduced** (pending government accreditation)	
2004	**docARTES** doctoral program in the arts created (pending government accreditation)	

APPENDIX THREE:
A COMPARISON OF EARLY MUSIC ENROLMENT
1977-1978 vs. 1999-2000

	1977-78			1999-2000			% change
instrument	**male**	**female**	**total no.**	**1st phase**	**2nd phase**	**total no.**	
recorder	68	153	221	57	12	69	**-69%**
harpsichord	33	44	77	38	6	44	**-43%**
lute	17	3	20	8	2	10	**-50%**
viola da gamba	4	6	10	9	5	14	**40%**
traverso	2	3	5	23	5	28	**460%**
clavichord				0	1	1	
Baroque cello				15	3	18	
Baroque bassoon				2	0	2	
Baroque harp				2	0	2	
Baroque oboe				13	3	16	
Baroque trombone				2	0	2	
Baroque trumpet				7	0	7	
Baroque violin				31	4	35	
Baroque voice				11	3	14	
fortepiano				9	4	13	
historical clarinet				2	2	4	
TOTAL EARLY MUSIC STUDENTS:			**333**	229	50	**279**	**-16%**
TOTAL NO. MUSIC STUDENTS:	61%	39%	**4,776**			**4454**	**-7%**

Note: other Early Music specializations are not indicated separately from modern instrument totals (e.g., violin, voice, etc.) or categories such as "other" or "special study". The actual number of Early Music students enrolled was probably much higher

Note: data on gender not available

Source: Boon & Schrijnen-van Gastel 1981, 70; HBO-Raad 2001 vol. A, 74, 91

APPENDIX FOUR

GLOSSARY OF DUTCH TERMS AND ACRONYMS

Term/Acronym	**Dutch**	**English**
AHK	Amsterdamse Hogeschool voor de Kunsten	Amsterdam School of the Arts (HBO)
AJC	Arbeiders Jeugd Centrale	Workers Youth Movement
AKKV	amateurkunst en kunstzinnige vorming	amateur arts and arts education
allochtonen		Dutch citizens of foreign background
AVM	Algemeen Vormend Muziekonderwijs	General Formative Music Education
Bijvak		Secondary subject (minor) in an academic program
BKR	Beeldende Kunstenaars Regeling	Fine Arts Program, or Visual Artists Financial Assistance Scheme
BZ	Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken	Ministry of the Interior
CBS	Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek	Statistics Netherlands
CDA	Christen Democratisch Appèl	Christian-Democratic Appeal
CRM	Ministerie van Cultuur, Recreatie en Maatschappelijk Werk	Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work
Cultuurnota		Policy statement on culture, produced by the MinOCenW every four years
CvA	Conservatorium van Amsterdam	Amsterdam Conservatory
D66	Democraten 66	Democrats 66
Eerste Kamer		Upper house of the Dutch parliament

HBO	Hoger Beroeps Onderwijs (hogeschool)	Higher professional education (postsecondary institution)
Hoofdvak		Principal subject (major) in an academic program
Huismuziek		In German, *hausmusik*, i.e., chamber music for performance in the home, suitable for amateurs. As in Germany, *huismuziek* in the Netherlands was associated with the 20th-century socialist and youth movements.
KNTV	Koninklijke Nederlandse Toonkunstenaars Vereniging	Royal Netherlands Musicians Society
KonCon	Koninklijk Conservatorium	Royal Conservatory in The Hague
KVNM	Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis	Royal Society for Music History of the Netherlands
Mammoetwet	Wet op het Voortgezet Onderwijs	Secondary Education Act, or Mammoth law
MinOCW	Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap(en)	Ministry of Education, Culture and Science
MinOKW	Ministerie van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen	Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences
Notenkrakersactie		"Notecrackers" action (1969 protest in the Concertgebouw led by a group of contemporary composers)
NVV		Dutch Federation of Trade Unions
O en W	Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen	Ministry of Education and Sciences
Overgangswet Wet op het voortgezet onderwijs		Interim Secondary Education Act
Paarse coalitie		Purple Coalition, established between the Liberal (red) and Labour (blue) parties, 1994-2002.

PvdA	Partij van de Arbeid	Labour Party
Raad voor Cultuur		Council for Culture
Raad voor de Kunst		Council for the Arts
Randstad		A group of Dutch cities in the more populous Western side of the country (i.e., Amsterdam, Haarlem, The Hague, Rotterdam)
SDAP		Social Democratic Workers Party
STC-operatie	Schaalvergroting, taakverdeling en concentratie	scaling up, task distribution and concentration operation (reorganization of higher professional education, 1983)
STOOM	Stichting Organisatie Oude Muziek	Organization for Early Music
Studiefinancering		Literally, “study financing”; government benefits paid to EU students enrolled in Dutch higher education institutions, including tuition reimbursement and a public transportation pass. Students must be between the ages of 18 and 30 years (though an extension is possible) and demonstrate proof of enrolment and credits earned in order to qualify. The program is administered by the Informatie Beheer Groep.

Toonkunst	Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst	Association for the Promotion of the Art of Music
Tweede Kamer		Second chamber, lower house of the Dutch parliament
VVD	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie	Liberal Party, literally People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (libertarian)
Wet op het specifiek cultuurbeleid		Cultural Policy (Special Purpose Funding) Act
WIK	Wet Inkomensvoorziening Kunstenaars	Social assistance program for unemployed artists and musicians
WO	Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs	scholarly or scientific education, e.g., university
WVC	Ministerie van Welzijn, Volksgezondheid en Cultuur	Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs